



Marat Gramov

## Russian Says Games Pullout Is Irrevocable

Anti-Soviet Terrorism Is Rampant, Aide Says

By Dusko Doder

WASHINGTON — The Soviet Union's top sports official, Marat Gramov, said Monday that Moscow's decision to pull out of the 1984 summer Olympic games in Los Angeles was irrevocable.

"This decision of ours is final," he said at a news conference. President Ronald Reagan, speaking later at an informal press conference in Washington, said he did not think there was "any action that I could take that would be prudent" to get the Russians to return to the Games. The Associated Press reported.

"Naturally I would do anything if I thought it could have a result. And I have encouraged citizen groups and our people to do this," he said.

Sports officials in Poland said Monday that Soviet bloc nations are preparing to sponsor sports events in various countries to substitute for the Olympics. A Polish official said alternate sports events would not be held at the same time as the Los Angeles games to avoid conflicts with the Olympic charter, which specifically forbids "counter-games."

The statement by Mr. Gramov, who holds the rank of cabinet member and who is also chairman of the Soviet national Olympic committee, appeared to end all hopes that the Soviet Union and its allies will participate in the games.

It came as Juan Antonio Samaranch, president of the International Olympic Committee, was preparing to fly to Moscow to try to persuade Soviet leaders to change their minds. He had asked to meet President Konstantin U. Chernenko.

Mr. Gramov blamed the Reagan administration for Moscow's decision to withdraw from the Olympics, saying Mr. Reagan's "anti-Soviet crusade" had produced a climate of hysteria in the United States and created conditions in which anti-communist groups threatened the athletes.

"Lack of security, the intensification of anti-Sovietism, policies injecting all kinds of complications regarding Soviet athletes, these are the factors that have caused the Soviet national Olympic committee's decision not to attend the Los Angeles games," Mr. Gramov said. "We were forced to make this decision."

Mr. Gramov coupled his charges that Mr. Reagan was using the games as part of his re-election campaign with assertions that the spirit of "terrorism" was rampant in Los Angeles.

Tass reported that Peter V. Ueberroth, chairman of the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, had been threatened by anti-Soviet groups and that he had "expressed concern for the safety of his family."

"How could one speak of any (Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

## 4 Guerrillas Are Killed in Raid On South African Oil Refinery

The Associated Press

DURBAN, South Africa — Four guerrillas fired rockets at an oil refinery, then led police on a car chase through a waterfront industrial area before police killed all four early Monday in a shootout at a construction yard.

Police spokesmen said three other persons died inside a paint storage shed that caught fire during the 20-minute shootout. Their bodies were burned beyond recognition, but the paint shop owner said two were male employees who often slept in the shed and the third was a woman.

The African National Congress claimed responsibility for the refinery raid in a statement issued in Lusaka, Zambia. It said the attack marked an "intensification of the armed struggle which we are now embarking upon." The ANC, which has organized most sabotage attacks in South Africa, is a black

movement that seeks to end white-minority rule.

Lieutenant Thomas Jefferson, spokesman at police headquarters in Pretoria, said a policeman, Andries Nel, was seriously wounded when he was shot in the head while trying to stop the guerrillas as they drove away from the Mobil Oil refinery. He was later reported in satisfactory condition.

Another policeman was slightly wounded by fragments of a grenade thrown by the fugitives at a roadblock set up near the refinery. Lieutenant Jefferson said. Two other policemen who took up the pursuit after the guerrillas turned away from the roadblock were slightly injured when a bullet shattered their windshield.

The spokesman said the attackers fired three rocket-propelled grenades at the refinery, starting a fire and causing limited damage. A refinery official said no storage tanks were hit and that the blaze was put out in 40 minutes.

Police spokesmen said the guerrillas were three black men and one of mixed race. They were said to be armed with automatic weapons. Lieutenant Jefferson said the incident covered four hours from the explosions at the refinery Sunday night until the shootout ended Monday morning.

Soon after the explosions, he said, police obtained a description of a car carrying several men in the neighborhood. He said a policeman on patrol saw the car, radioed for help and then tried to stop the car. The policeman was wounded when the guerrillas shot at him.

The spokesman said more shooting occurred when police in cars took up the chase, and at the roadblock. Tires and windows of the fugitives' car were shot out and the four men jumped out and ran into a construction company yard less than a mile from the roadblock.

Scores of persons in residential neighborhoods near the refinery evacuated their houses.

## Dalai Lama Is Resigned To a Permanent Exile

By Clyde Haberman

New York Times Service

TOKYO — Now that he has lived in exile for 25 years, the Dalai Lama of Tibet says he has abandoned all thought of permanently going home again. He is having second thoughts about even a short visit, he says, although plans are under way for him to return briefly to his Chinese-ruled homeland in August 1985.

"My desire to go is still there," the man who is both spiritual and temporal leader to Tibetan Buddhists said in an interview Sunday in Tokyo. However, he added, "many Tibetans sent verbal and written messages that, although they want to see me as early as possible, under the present circumstances I should not come."

The Dalai Lama, whom pliant Tibetans consider the 14th earthly incarnation of Avalokitesvara, the Buddhist Lord of Compassion, will turn 49 on July 6, the 12th year of his reign on the Lion Throne. China invaded Tibet and quickly took control. After Chinese troops crushed an uprising in 1959, the Dalai Lama fled across the border into India, where, in subsequent months, 100,000 other refugees followed.

He now heads a government-in-exile in the Indian hill town of Dharamsala, with a parliament and a cabinet but with official recognition from no one.

Periodically, the Dalai Lama visits other countries—he made a trip to the United States in 1979—and an aide said he would make a second visit to the United States in September. He came to Japan for religious ceremonies but had to agree to a government request that he avoid political activity, according to Japanese press reports.

The Dalai Lama, who wore maroon robes, was interviewed in his suite in a luxurious hotel. He still talks about independence for Tibet, but raises the possibility among other forms of existence with China.

Tibetan independence, he says, it is an ambition that can be tempered if circumstances warrant. In his view, some sort of union between China and Tibet might be acceptable if it would benefit people in both countries.

"Sometimes I feel Buddhist communism might be possible," he said, asserting that Buddhism and Marxism—in theory, if not in practice—share certain values.



The Dalai Lama

"Marxism," he said, speaking in English and only occasionally needing help from an aide to find the words he wanted, "always puts emphasis on the distribution—not on how to make money but how to use it. It's very much concerned with the working people. That means the majority, the poorer people, the less privileged ones. So that is, from a Buddhist point of view, absolutely right."

Both "isms," he said, also lack the concept of a creator, emphasizing instead "self-creation"—things (Continued on Page 2, Col. 3)



Leaders of West Germany's metalworkers' union, Hans Mayr, center-right, and Franz Steinkühler, center-left, as they appeared at a picket line at a Stuttgart factory on Monday.

## MX Defeat Would Encourage Moscow To Ignore Arms Efforts, Reagan Says

By Robert C. Siner

International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan warned Congress on Monday that scrapping the MX missile would encourage the Soviet Union to "impose nuclear blackmail" and ignore U.S. arms control efforts.

In a short statement, Mr. Reagan said that "there is no more compelling priority on my agenda" than production of the MX.

Funding for 30 of the missiles faces a vote in the House of Representatives this week. The House speaker, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., Democrat of Massachusetts, has predicted that the money for the 10-warhead intercontinental ballistic missile will be stripped from the military authorization bill.

"We cannot afford to delay any longer," Mr. Reagan said. "Without the Peacekeeper, the MX, the incentive for the Soviets to return to the negotiating table is greatly reduced."

The Soviet Union withdrew last fall from talks with the United States on limiting medium-range and long-range nuclear weapons.

In answer to questions at a press conference, Mr. Reagan emphasized his view that it was the Soviet Union, not the United States, that

should be blamed for the lack of progress on arms control.

"We didn't walk away from the table," he said. "We made efforts to bring them back."

Responding to another question, Mr. Reagan said, "What have we done to any of the things they are presently doing, except tell them that we're not going to let them get so powerful that they can impose nuclear blackmail on us and that we are willing to meet them in arms reductions to the point of total disarmament if they are willing."

Regarding El Salvador, Mr. Reagan denied assertions by Senator Jesse Helms, Republican of North Carolina, that the United States used money and influence to assist José Napoleón Duarte, El Salvador's newly elected president, in his campaign. There was no "attempt by any agency of the U.S. government to participate in partisan fashion in that election," he said.

However, Mr. Reagan said that there had been aid, "overt not covert," to labor unions and trade associations under the framework of the Reagan administration's program aimed at promoting democracy in the country.

Mr. Reagan also said that a bipartisan group of U.S. observers found "no hint of any dishonesty

or fraud" or undue influence by the Salvadoran military in the election.

In answer to another question, Mr. Reagan continued the administration's retreat from last week's attack on the Federal Reserve Board by Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan, who blamed the Fed for the current rise in interest rates.

The president attributed the growth in interest rates to "a lack of confidence out there that we do have inflation under control."

East Germany Gets Missiles

The Soviet Defense Ministry announced Monday that it has started installing new nuclear missiles in East Germany and indicated they were aimed at Britain, Italy and West Germany. The Associated Press reported from Moscow.

The English-language service of Tass, the official press agency, said the weapons were "enhanced-range theater" missiles. The Russian-language version called them "operation-tactical weapons of an enhanced range."

Similar language was used in previous reports on East German deployment, and some Western arms control experts have speculated that this indicated the Russians were deploying rockets other than the SS-20s that are the focus of East-West disputes.

## IG Metall Strikes Car Suppliers In Stuttgart

Reuters

STUTTGART — About 13,000 metalworkers went on strike in the industrial area around Stuttgart Monday and their union announced that it would intensify the walkout to Frankfurt next week, a move that could force a shutdown of West Germany's automotive industry.

The strike by IG Metall, West Germany's biggest union, was called in support of its demand for a 35-hour workweek. Union officials said Monday's walkout affected about 14 factories near here, many involved in manufacturing car components, the first such strike in West Germany since 1978. Union officials said all members obeyed the strike order and picketing proceeded without incident.

Employers, meanwhile, rejected an appeal by the union's chairman, Hans Mayr, to resume bargaining. They have refused to discuss any cut in the standard 40-hour week.

Escalation of the dispute triggered a steep slide in share prices on the Frankfurt Stock Exchange. Robert Bosch, one of the biggest European manufacturers of car batteries, ignition systems and electrical equipment, headed the list of Monday's strike targets. Others included West Germany's two biggest makers of pistons, Kolbenschmidt and Mahle.

The Munich-based car maker BMW said Monday it would have to close its four major production plants, employing about 30,000 workers, on Thursday if strikes continued at the component factories. Further layoffs would occur in the event of a drawn-out strike, the company said.

A spokesman for Opel, a subsidiary of the U.S. automobile producer, General Motors, based near Frankfurt, said it, too, would probably be forced to shut its three production plants in the next few days.

Spokesmen for Daimler-Benz, which makes the Mercedes car, and the Porsche sports car firm, both located in Stuttgart, said they expected to face output problems after a few days because of a lack of components.

At the giant Volkswagen factory in Wolfsburg, a spokesman said the company probably had a week's breathing space. Ford's West German division also said it had not been affected so far. BMW produced 420,000 cars last year from its three factories in the Munich area and also has a motorcycle plant in West Berlin.

The metalworkers' union did not immediately disclose its new strike targets. Apart from Opel, another major employer of IG Metall members in the Frankfurt area is the AEG-Telefunken electronics and domestic appliances manufacturer.

The dispute also seemed headed to involve railroad workers. Their chairman, Ernst Haer, told the national union congress in Hamburg to expect winning strikes and other measures to support the claim for a shorter working week.

Earlier this month, IG Metall won the approval of its membership to call all the 340,000 metalworkers in the northern half of Baden-Württemberg and Hesse out on strike. Mr. Mayr had appealed to employers to resume talks at a regional level to try to end the dispute.

But Dieter Kirchner, executive director of the metal industry employers, said the issue must now be negotiated nationally.

Otto Lamsdorff, the West German economics minister, appealed Monday to both employers and the union to give up their dug-in positions and return to the negotiating table.

Addressing the Danish-German Chamber of Commerce in Copenhagen, he warned that the weakness of the Deutsche mark could trigger higher interest rates.

## Marcos Foes Lead in Early Results

The Associated Press

MANILA — After a day of bloodshed, widespread charges of fraud and anti-government marches, opponents of President Ferdinand E. Marcos were leading Sunday in an unexpected number of National Assembly races.

Election-related violence reportedly claimed at least 49 lives Sunday and Monday.

Complete and official returns were not expected until Tuesday or later, but Marcos foes led in 62 races, according to partial results compiled by The Associated Press from unofficial sources, including an independent watchdog group run by business and Catholic church leaders. The figures showed Marcos candidates leading in 36 races.

The count was too fragmentary to indicate a clear trend. It covered less than 20 percent of the vote in most races, and there were no reports about races for the remaining 85 assembly seats eight hours after polls closed.

Twenty-five million people were eligible to vote, choosing from 1,000 candidates.

Mr. Marcos, who has strong organizations in slow-reporting rural areas, has said his party machinery will push his candidates to victory.

The government put almost 300,000 soldiers and police on special alert during the voting. Late into the night, riot police guarded the city hall in the Manila suburb of Pasay, where 400 opposition supporters protested the handling of returns, waving torches and a portrait of Benigno S. Aquino Jr., the chief Marcos opposition leader, who was assassinated last August.

The polls were closed an hour early so that counting could begin before dark, as violence was considered more likely after dark.

The 49 persons reported by police, the military or local journalists to have been killed in 12 election-related incidents were mostly soldiers and police.

The military said Communist terrorists stole dozens of ballot boxes, burned a school voting center and bombed another on Mindanao island. No injuries were reported at the schools.

Election officials and observers said the pace of voting was brisk throughout the country despite a call for a boycott. Failure to vote is punishable by a six-month jail term, ineligibility for public office and loss of voting privileges. In the last nationwide balloting, the presidential election of June 1981, the

government estimated turnout at more than 82 percent.

Mr. Marcos's party holds all but a dozen assembly seats, and he has said he would be surprised if his opponents won more than 30.

Opposition to Mr. Marcos grew after Mr. Aquino was killed, but the opponents were split on whether to participate in the election.

Various opposition party members and independent poll watchers reported stolen ballot boxes, bullying of voters, phony ballots and illegal campaigning.

Teachers at a Manila voting center said 30 men, carrying clubs, invaded the school just after the polls closed and switched ballots that were being counted for Marcos candidates.

"I was afraid," said one teacher, Teresita Mondeguillo. "He said: 'This is what you'll count.'"

Two candidates were killed during the campaign, which started March 27, and more than 30 other deaths have been blamed directly on the election.

Candidates include 13 members of Mr. Marcos's cabinet; his daughter, Imee Manotoc; a brother-in-law, Benjamin Romualdez; and dozens of the president's most loyal assemblymen.

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TOMORROW

■ While French intellectuals now find much to admire in America, their German counterparts see the U.S. as an outcast bully. In Insights.

## Reagan Adviser Defends Use of Covert Action

By Bernard Gwertzman

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Covert action in such regions as Central America is increasingly necessary to provide the United States with an alternative between going to war and doing nothing when a friendly nation is under attack, according to President Ronald Reagan's national security adviser, Robert C. McFarlane.

In one of the administration's most strongly worded justifications for the covert paramilitary program in Central America under the supervision of the Central Intelligence Agency, Mr. McFarlane said Sunday that the American people "have to wrestle with" the question of "should we or should we not have some intermediate option of policy, covert action?"

The real issue which is being challenged by people on the Hill and publicly is should you do these kinds of things at all, and I think we ought to come to terms with that," he said of the sharp opposition in Congress to covert action.

He said his personal view was

that the United States should engage in such activity.

Mr. McFarlane also said U.S. intelligence had picked up information in the last six weeks suggesting that the Cubans had decided to "roughly double" the level of violence by Salvadoran insurgents backed by Nicaragua and Cuba.

He said he believed this would result in a "let-like" offensive this fall in El Salvador—a reference to the heavy attacks carried out in 1968 by Communist forces in South Vietnam during the Tet holiday period.

While repeating the administration's insistence that it had no plans to send U.S. combat troops to Central America, Mr. McFarlane did not rule out the possibility of this happening if Congress did not provide enough assistance to allow the Salvadoran government to survive a stepped-up insurgent attack in the fall.

Mr. McFarlane rarely speaks on the record to reporters, preferring to keep his remarks anonymous. But he has appeared on television interview programs to speak on behalf of the administration.

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## Home for U.S. Envoy in Cairo Is 19-Year-Old 'Mess'

By Judith Miller

New York Times Service

CAIRO — The house resembles a bombed-out building. The bedroom walls have gaping holes. The marble tiles of the entryway are sloped and cracked. Virtually every wire is exposed. The basement could be the site of an archaeological dig.

The house is the U.S. ambassador's new residence. And as Secretary of State George P. Shultz recently concluded, it is still, 19 years after the project started, "a mess."

How it got that way is now the subject of an audit by the State Department Inspector General's office in Washington that could lead to legal action against an Egyptian contractor and possibly others involved in the project.

The residence has already cost more than \$3.5 million and will require another \$930,000 to complete.

Since its inception in 1965, the project has faced staggering political and practical challenges.

According to former U.S. ambassadors to Egypt, the property and its once-splendid Turkish-style home in Giza, near Cairo, was bought in the mid-1960s. After Cairo and Washington severed diplomatic relations in 1967, planning for the residence was halted.

When diplomatic relations were restored in 1973, plans to develop the Giza property were revived. But President Anwar Sadat then expressed an interest in the land.

In the spring of 1974 Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger agreed to trade the embassy property for other land of comparable value. An argument soon developed over what constituted property of comparable value. "We never did resolve the matter," said Herman F. Ellis, the U.S. ambassador then.

Early the next year, Representative Wayne L. Hays, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, visited Egypt and told Mr. Sadat of congressional concern about the property transfer.

As a result, the United States bought a new piece of land in Maadi, a fashionable Cairo suburb, on which stood a house the embassy hoped could be renovated within eight months.

But Mr. Hays's visit also made Mr. Sadat aware of congressional unhappiness over the planned property exchange. He decided to return the Giza land in June 1975. By that time, however, the house on the property had been demolished.

The State Department then decided to renovate the Maadi property instead of building a new home in Giza. It would be cheaper and faster, officials said. But by the summer of 1979, the renovations were still not complete and not likely to be anytime soon.

Construction of a new embassy residence in Giza got under way in 1969, and Alfred L. Atherton Jr., the new ambassador, decided to sell the Maadi property.

Reagan administration officials said the State Department's Foreign Building Office, charged with building and maintaining U.S. buildings overseas, would normally have chosen an architect from three recommended by an advisory panel of private architects. But in this case, Metcalf & Associates, a Washington-based company, was selected, mostly because it had done much design work in Egypt and was willing to accept payment in Egyptian pounds, officials said.

As the structure rose, with its 14-foot (4.2-meter) concrete walls, so did the level of protests and ridicule in Egypt. Moreover, the construction contract, like that for the design work, called for payment in Egyptian pounds rather than dollars. This meant, first, that only two companies, both local, bid for the job. Second, since the design required many U.S. components, which had to be imported and for which dollars had to be paid, parts became more expensive.

This, according to Senate staff aides, led in some cases to use of substandard, locally available components by the Egyptian contractor, El Abd of Maadi. The company, despite repeated efforts, could not be reached for comment.

The plumbing was installed so quickly that pressure tests were not conducted before the walls were sealed. Subsequent leaks soaked the walls and wooden floors, which have buckled.

The conduits of electrical wiring buried in concrete have rusted. Drainage pipes, electrical wiring, air vents and ducts have had to be replaced by a new contractor.

The outlook is uncertain. Construction money has run out, and it is unclear when or whether more will be approved.



Among the problems at the U.S. ambassador's residence near Cairo are, from left, buckling in exterior floors, exposed wiring and damage from leaking pipes.



## Tamil Group Will Free U.S. Couple Without Ransom, Release of Rebels

The Associated Press

COLOMBO, Sri Lanka — A separatist group that kidnapped an American couple withdrew its death threat Monday and announced that it was releasing the couple, a Sri Lankan official said. Hundreds of military and police troops searched the countryside into the night but did not find the pair.

The official said Tamil separatists who abducted Stanley Dryson Allen and Mary Elizabeth Allen on Thursday night announced that they were releasing the couple even though demands for \$2 million in gold and the release of 20 prisoners had been rejected.

The national security minister, Lalith Athulathumudali, said that "the kidnappers have agreed to release the couple unconditionally" and that the Americans were expected to be "dropped at some remote road" in northern Jaffna province. He said hundreds of Sri Lankan

troops and police were searching the Kilinochchi forest 45 miles (73 kilometers) south of Jaffna and 140 miles northwest of Colombo. "Police and military will continue the search throughout the night," he said. "We hope that they have not been set free by one set of wild animals to be devoured by another."

The Tamil group, the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front, said in a statement in Madras, India, that it had "directed our comrades to release the two Americans in custody." It said the decision was in response to appeals by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India and M.G. Ramachandran, the top elected official of Tamil Nadu state in India, which has a majority Tamil population.

Mr. Athulathumudali indicated that the kidnapping would inspire the Sri Lankan government to tighten a crackdown on Tamil separatists in the Jaffna region, where the Americans were seized Thursday night.

Jaffna is at the center of agitation by ethnic Tamils, a largely Hindu group, for a separate state to remove what they say is oppression by the Sinhalese majority, which is predominantly Buddhist.

The abductors had demanded payment of \$2 million in gold and the release of 20 jailed Tamil rebels by noon Monday, or they would kill the couple.

They demanded that the ransom be paid through the government of Tamil Nadu, where Tamil terrorists reportedly train recruits in their drive to win independence.

The deadline was extended by six hours in a "final warning" note Monday, ostensibly to give the Sri Lankan government time to meet the demands.

The kidnappers accused the A.L.F. of working for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. The couple, from Columbus, Ohio, had recently moved to Jaffna, where Mr. Allen worked on water projects funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development. They married recently.

Officials of Tamil Nadu state said they persuaded two Tamil separatists who were arrested in a roundup of 16 persons Sunday to telephone Jaffna and order their fellow secessionists to release the pair.

The quarrel has ranged well beyond the border. Vietnam has charged that China used President Ronald Reagan's recent visit to mount the attacks, implying that Washington and Beijing were in collusion.

## China-Vietnam Clashes May Be Mostly of Words

By Christopher S. Wren

New York Times Service

BEIJING — For more than a month, China and Vietnam have each reported inflicting staggering losses on the other in their border conflict while suffering only modest casualties, all of them civilians.

Neither side has admitted that its soldiers have been killed or wounded, prompting some diplomats to suspect that the artillery duels and battles have been exaggerated and that the biggest casualty of the murky war has been truth.

Over the last week, Chinese frontier guards have been beating back Vietnamese incursions while being bombarded with thousands of artillery shells, as the Chinese news agency told it. On Thursday, it said, Chinese frontier guards repulsed the seventh assault in a week on a mountainous position on the Yunnan province border, inflicting "heavy losses."

A Vietnamese diplomat here called the report "a total lie," and a Chinese official told reporters the day before that the frontier had been "relatively peaceful" in recent days.

The conflicting reports have been treated cautiously by diplomats, since independent observers have not been allowed into the border zone. The reports are unsettling enough and may have been one reason for the postponement of a visit to Beijing by Ivan V. Arkhipov, a first deputy prime minister, who would have been the highest Soviet visitor in many years.

The Soviet Union is an ally of Vietnam. Some border fighting has evidently occurred. Two weeks ago, Beijing television showed footage of Chinese infantrymen advancing under fire, a peasant being treated

for wounds and a few stunned Vietnamese prisoners. Last week, the Vietnamese Defense Ministry produced two captured Chinese soldiers at a news conference.

But no one can say how extensive the fighting has been. Western and Asian diplomats here have noted that it follows the pattern of clashes in 1981 and 1983, and they doubt that it will reach the intensity of the border war of 1979.

The diplomats say the present conflict may be linked to Vietnam's dry-season offensive against Cambodian rebel forces, including the Chinese-backed guerrillas of Pol Pot, near the Thai border.

By increasing tension, China can tie down Vietnamese troops who might otherwise be sent to Cambodia.

Hanoi has blamed Beijing for the border incidents. "By using their infantry troops to nibble at our territory in the wake of their artillery shelling, the Beijing reactionaries hope to come to the rescue and crank up the spirit of the Pol Pot remnants," Nhan Dan, the Vietnamese party newspaper, said a month ago.

China said Vietnam fomented the trouble to distract attention from its activities in Cambodia. But China Daily, an English-language newspaper in Beijing, acknowledged that the two conflicts were intertwined. "The counterattacks are necessary until Hanoi truly expresses a sincere desire to withdraw completely from Cambodia," it said last month.

The quarrel has ranged well beyond the border. Vietnam has charged that China used President Ronald Reagan's recent visit to mount the attacks, implying that Washington and Beijing were in collusion.

## Walter Rauff, a Nazi Wanted For Genocide, Dies in Chile

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

SANTIAGO — Walter Rauff, 77, a former colonel in the Nazi SS accused of killing 97,000 Jews in mobile gas chambers during World War II, died Monday of lung cancer.

A spokesman for the German Clinic said Mr. Rauff died in his home in the wealthy residential sector of Santiago called Las Condes. He had lived in Chile since 1959, protected from several extradition requests by Chile's statute of limitations.

In 1963, Chile's Supreme Court rejected a West German request that he be extradited to stand trial for his crimes. The current military regime, which took power in 1973, rejected requests from West Germany and Israel this year that he be expelled from Chile.

"The Rauff case has been resolved. God has passed judgment," said Joel Barmine, first secretary of the Israeli Embassy.

Only last week West Germany and France officially asked the Chilean government in the name of the European Parliament to expel Mr. Rauff so that he could be brought to trial on charges of sending at least 97,000 East European Jews to their deaths in the mobile gas chambers known as "black ravens," which he designed and which used exhaust fumes to asphyxiate prisoners.

Simon Wiesenthal, the Nazi hunter, claimed last year that Mr. Rauff might have caused as many as 250,000 deaths.

The director general of Israel's Foreign Ministry, David Kimche, flew to Chile in early February to urge the expulsion of Mr. Rauff, whom he called "one of the worst living war criminals in the West."

But the Chilean foreign minister, Jaime Del Valle, said it would be "inappropriate to expel a citizen who has lived 20 years in peace here since the Supreme Court ruling."

Another Nazi hunter, Beate Klarsfeld, crusaded in the last two years to have Mr. Rauff expelled from Chile. (UPI/AP)

## Dalai Lama: Life in Exile

(Continued from Page 1)

depend entirely on one's own hands." Tibetan refugees who fled to India with the Dalai Lama in 1959 have expressed concern that China would use his return to lead legitimacy to its control over their Himalayan homeland.

Several of the detainees have admitted killing four students at a Hebrew Islamic College last year and others admitted maiming two prominent West Bank mayors with four years ago, the sources said.

The two Palestinian mayors, Bassam Shaka of Nablus and Kerim Khalaf of Ramallah, were seriously wounded by bombs that had been placed in their cars.

The settlement movement was plunged into disarray, with some leaders expressing disbelief that Rabbi Levinger would have anything to do with acts of violence against Arabs. Israel's two chief

rabbi conferees Monday with political leaders on the issue. Rabbi Levinger was the co-founder of the first Jewish settlement in the West Bank at Kiryat Arba, near Hebron, in 1970. The Gush Etzion, or Bloc of the Faith, that he helped found, has the drive that has put 30,000 Jewish settlers in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Rabbi Levinger lives with his American-born wife and 11 children in the center of Hebron. He and his wife are leading the move to resettle Hebron's Jewish quarter.

Rabbi Levinger has said of his movement: "The Jewish national renaissance is more important than democracy. The fate of the land of Israel and a free and whole Jewish life in it are not subject to a majority vote."

He made it clear the boycott to live in a prison there, because that is what the conditions there would be like," he said.

Mr. Gramov said he planned to attend Friday's meeting of the International Olympic Committee, but made it clear he considered assurances provided by organizers worthless.

"Whatever Ueberroth says, it is immediately rejected, refused or repudiated by the U.S. authorities," Mr. Gramov said.

The Reagan administration's attitude, he indicated, was illustrated by a press conference he held in Los Angeles. The authorities, Mr. Gramov said, refused to permit the Tass correspondent to cover the press conference.

Mr. Gramov said that the Reagan administration had broken off political, trade, scientific and cultural relations and that it had no damaged sports relations that had remained as a "basis" of normal contacts between the two countries.

He said the Soviet Union had no intention of organizing a "parallel" sporting event as a counter to the Los Angeles Olympics. And he ridiculed Western contentions that Moscow had long planned the boycott in retaliation for the American boycott of the 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow.

Mr. Gramov also asserted that Moscow had informed its East European allies of its decision on April 8 and that it had put no pressure on other nations to join the boycott. East Germany and six other Soviet bloc countries have announced they will not send their teams to Los Angeles.

Man Slain by Police in Ulster BELFAST — Police shot to death one man and seriously wounded another, foiling an attempted post office robbery in the village of Ballygally, 25 miles (40 kilometers) north of Belfast, police said.

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Attending a Brussels meeting Monday of the EC's Foreign Affairs Council were, from left, Jacques Leprieux, French ambassador to the EC; Commission President Gaston Thorn; Minister of External Relations Claude Cheysson of France; Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen of Denmark, and the council's secretary-general, Niels Erbsloff.

## EC Ministers Balk at Seeking Major Loan

Reuters

BRUSSELS — European Community governments refused Monday to be rushed into arranging a loan for their troubled trading bloc and called on the European Commission to find new savings to cut this year's budget deficit.

With receding prospects of an early end to the year-old cash crisis, community foreign ministers demanded a rigorous review of spending plans before consideration of the commission's request for a \$2-billion loan, officials said.

Minister of External Relations Claude Cheysson of France, who chaired a meeting of the ministers here, ordered the commission to submit monthly financial reports to the ministers.

Budget Commissioner Christopher Tugendhat warned the ministers that the community would run out of cash by the end of October. The ministers responded by challenging the commission's \$2.25-billion estimate of this year's cash shortfall.

"Governments are simply not able to continue pouring money into the community at a time of continued constraints on public spending in member states," a diplomat said.

Several ministers expressed disquiet with the loan idea as a solution to meet immediate cash needs. Diplomats said. The West German foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, rejected the idea, saying his country found it legally dubious.

## Israel, in Probe of Attacks on Arabs, Arrests Rabbi Who Leads Settlers

Reuters

JERUSALEM — Israeli security forces have arrested Rabbi Moshe Levinger, the spiritual and political leader of Jewish settlers in occupied Arab territories, in connection with an investigation of an armed underground that has attacked Arabs.

Police on Monday would say only that Rabbi Levinger, 48, a founder of the Gush Etzion ultra-nationalist movement, was arrested late Sunday night.

Sources close to the investigation said that he was suspected of having approved several vigilante acts. The rabbi had previously been questioned several times by police. His son-in-law has been under arrest for two weeks.

About 25 persons, most of them from Jewish settlements, have been rounded up since late last month in a crackdown on Jewish extremism.

The arrests followed an investigation of attempt to blow up Arab buses in East Jerusalem in what a source said was aimed at provoking "a mass exodus of Palestinians."

Several of the detainees have admitted killing four students at a Hebrew Islamic College last year and others admitted maiming two prominent West Bank mayors with four years ago, the sources said.

The two Palestinian mayors, Bassam Shaka of Nablus and Kerim Khalaf of Ramallah, were seriously wounded by bombs that had been placed in their cars.

The settlement movement was plunged into disarray, with some leaders expressing disbelief that Rabbi Levinger would have anything to do with acts of violence against Arabs. Israel's two chief

rabbi conferees Monday with political leaders on the issue. Rabbi Levinger was the co-founder of the first Jewish settlement in the West Bank at Kiryat Arba, near Hebron, in 1970. The Gush Etzion, or Bloc of the Faith, that he helped found, has the drive that has put 30,000 Jewish settlers in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Rabbi Levinger lives with his American-born wife and 11 children in the center of Hebron. He and his wife are leading the move to resettle Hebron's Jewish quarter.

Rabbi Levinger has said of his movement: "The Jewish national renaissance is more important than democracy. The fate of the land of Israel and a free and whole Jewish life in it are not subject to a majority vote."

He made it clear the boycott to live in a prison there, because that is what the conditions there would be like," he said.

Mr. Gramov said he planned to attend Friday's meeting of the International Olympic Committee, but made it clear he considered assurances provided by organizers worthless.

"Whatever Ueberroth says, it is immediately rejected, refused or repudiated by the U.S. authorities," Mr. Gramov said.

The Reagan administration's attitude, he indicated, was illustrated by a press conference he held in Los Angeles. The authorities, Mr. Gramov said, refused to permit the Tass correspondent to cover the press conference.

Mr. Gramov said that the Reagan administration had broken off political, trade, scientific and cultural relations and that it had no damaged sports relations that had remained as a "basis" of normal contacts between the two countries.

He said the Soviet Union had no intention of organizing a "parallel" sporting event as a counter to the Los Angeles Olympics. And he ridiculed Western contentions that Moscow had long planned the boycott in retaliation for the American boycott of the 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow.

Mr. Gramov also asserted that Moscow had informed its East European allies of its decision on April 8 and that it had put no pressure on other nations to join the boycott. East Germany and six other Soviet bloc countries have announced they will not send their teams to Los Angeles.

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## WORLD BRIEFS

### Shell Kills Child, Hurts 21 in Beirut

BEIRUT (AP) — A mortar shell hit a Greek Orthodox school playground Monday, killing one child and wounding 21. Three other civilians were injured by shelling in an East Beirut neighborhood. It was the third consecutive day of artillery exchanges in Beirut.

Prime Minister Rashid Karum met with a committee of Christian and Moslem cabinet members to draft a policy statement on steps for ending the fighting in Beirut. Details of the statement were kept secret. Mr. Karum said it would be sent to the full cabinet Wednesday and then, if approved, to the parliament for a vote.

Lebanese Army troops and Moslem militiamen exchanged sniper and grenade fire Monday. The army command issued a communique claiming its troops were not firing pending the outcome of contacts by a committee trying to enforce a cease-fire. The committee includes representatives from the main factions in the war.

### General Strike Held in North India

NEW DELHI (UPI) — A general strike to protest the killing of a Hindu newspaper editor, claimed by a Sikh militant group, brought northern India to a standstill Monday after sectarian violence Sunday left eight persons dead.

Markets were deserted, schools were closed and roads were virtually empty, officials said. The strike, called by the Hindu-based Bhadracharya Janata party and various Hindu groups, was observed in Punjab and Haryana states and in nearby Himachal Pradesh territory.

Security forces patrolled parts of Haryana late Sunday after riots by Hindus angered by the killing Saturday of the editor, Ramchandra Chandra Chhaya, who had written editorials sharply critical of the Sikh extremist movement.

In the Sikh holy city of Amritsar, terrorists killed a priest and his attendant Sunday, police said, without disclosing the religion of the priest. A Sikh priest was also found shot to death Monday, they said.

### U.S. Aviation Safety Is Questioned

WASHINGTON (AP) — The chairman of the National Transportation Safety Board told Congress on Monday that recent "unsettling incidents" have caused concern that airline deregulation may lead to a compromise of aviation safety.

"In terms of statistics, there has been no decline in aviation safety" since deregulation was enacted by Congress in 1978, James E. Burnett Jr. of the independent agency testified. But he pointed to "some very unsettling incidents in the past year which have caused the board concern over the adequacy of surveillance over the industry" by the Federal Aviation Administration. He added that "increasing competition which results in cost-cutting measures" was the cause.

As examples, Mr. Burnett mentioned incidents in which planes were nearly ditched or ran dangerously low on fuel last year, and the crash in October of an Air Illinois plane that took 10 lives. "We uncovered a laundry list of maintenance and operational procedures which were not carried out 'by the book,'" he said. Mr. Burnett and the transportation board's vice chairman, Patricia A. Goldman, appeared before the Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee on their nominations for second terms.

U.S. Sentences Spy to Life in Prison

SAN FRANCISCO (AP) — James Duward Harper Jr., who pleaded guilty to selling U.S. missile secrets to Communist agents, was sentenced Monday to life in prison by a judge who called him a traitor.

U.S. District Judge Samuel Conti said Mr. Harper had never expressed regret for his crimes. The judge said he would recommend that he never be paroled, calling him "a traitor to this country." The government alleged that Mr. Harper sold the documents to Polish agents for \$250,000 to \$1 million and that the Poles delivered the information to Soviet agents.

Mr. Harper, 49, a computer technician, had pleaded not guilty in December to six charges of stealing Minuteman missile secrets and papers outlining the U.S. ability to survive a nuclear attack. Last month, he changed his plea to guilty on a single count of conspiring to sell defense secrets, and the other counts were dropped. Under the plea bargain, Mr. Harper agreed to testify about others involved in the case.

French Newspaper Owner Accused

PARIS (Reuters) — A controversy erupted Monday over the candidacy in the European Parliament elections of Robert Hersant, the French press magnate, accused of anti-Semitic activities during the Nazi occupation of France.

Mr. Hersant, 64, owner of the big-selling national Le Figaro and France-Soir as well as a host of provincial daily and weekly newspapers, is a prominent figure on the main opposition list led by former Health Minister Simone Veil, who was deported as a Jew to the Nazi death camps in 1944.

In an open letter to her published in the leftist newspaper, Le Matin, nine former Resistance fighters said they were scandalized and saddened by Mr. Hersant's inclusion. They said he had been closely involved in an anti-Semitic youth movement and newspaper during World War II.

Wife Is Said to Join Sakharov in Fast

NEWTON, Massachusetts (UPI) — Yelena G. Bonner, the wife of Soviet dissident Andrei D. Sakharov, has joined her husband in a hunger strike, it was reported Monday.

"We are afraid that they do not have much time left," said Eltram Yankelovich of Newton, whose wife Tatiana is Mrs. Bonner's daughter, in a report published by the Boston Herald. "The last time he (Mr. Sakharov) went on a hunger strike it lasted 14 days. He has already gone 18 days this time," Mr. Yankelovich was quoted as saying Sunday. "I think it is reasonable to assume he will be in a critical situation within a few days. You can imagine how worried we are." The newspaper quoted Mr. Yankelovich as saying that Mrs. Bonner began her hunger strike Sunday.

Mr. Sakharov, 63, who was exiled to the city of Gorki in 1980, has been on a hunger strike since May 2 in an effort to pressure Soviet authorities to let his wife leave Russia for medical treatment. His wife suffers from a serious heart ailment and requires treatment outside the Soviet Union, Mr. Yankelovich said. But the Russians have refused to let her leave the country for medical help.

80 Hurt in Athens Pizzeria Explosion

ATHENS (AP) — A devastating explosion ripped through a crowded pizza-parlor shop and adjoining stores in central Athens Monday injuring at least 80 persons, 10 of them seriously, police reported.

A spokesman said it was too early to say anything about the cause of the explosion but most likely it was due to a gas leak. Initial police reports indicated that the explosion might have been caused by a bomb.

Police said most of the injured were hit by shards of glass and debris as they waited at a bus stop on a crowded street outside the pizzeria. A witness said he noticed a strong smell of gas minutes before the blast.

For the Record

A Salvadoran jury will be selected this week for the murder trial of five former National Guardsmen accused of killing four American church women, the judge in charge of the case said Monday. The five are charged with the murders Dec. 2, 1980, of two Maryknoll sisters, Ita Ford of New York City and Maura Clark of Belle Harbor, New York, an Ursuline nun Dorothy Kazel of Cleveland, and Jean Donovan of Stamford, Connecticut, an Ursuline lay worker. (UPI)

Four Irish legislators say they will boycott President Ronald Reagan's address to a joint session of Ireland's parliament on June 4 to protest U.S. policy in Central America. (AP)

A Colorado church worker, Stacey Mark, was convicted Monday in Brownsville, Texas, of smuggling two Salvadoran illegal aliens into the United States. The Roman Catholic lay worker could be sentenced to 10 to 15 years in prison and fined \$6,000. (AP)

Casper W. Weinberger, the U.S. defense secretary, will visit Morocco and Portugal after attending the spring meeting of NATO's Defense Planning Committee in Brussels this week, the Pentagon announced Monday. (AP)

President Miguel de la Madrid of Mexico arrived in Washington Monday for three days of talks with U.S. officials aimed partly at narrowing his differences with President Ronald Reagan on ways to deal with the turmoil in Central America. (AP)

The U.S. interior secretary, William P. Clark, appointed on Monday 25-member bipartisan panel of mining industry officials, headed by it retired U.S. Navy Admiral William Mott, to advise the Interior Department on ways to develop the nation's strategic minerals. (UPI)

Armed troops, light tanks and armored personnel carriers deploy around London's Heathrow Airport on Monday, but officials said it activity was a routine security training exercise. (AP)

At Rome's Leonardo da Vinci Airport, group workers staged their six straight day of work stoppages Monday, causing flight delays at difficulties in baggage pickup but no cancellations, officials said. (AP)

A Kuwait oil tanker was struck by two rockets fired from an unseen fired aircraft in the Gulf on Monday, a day after a similar attack on another Kuwaiti tanker, the national shipping company said. Two crew members suffered minor injuries in the attack, which occurred south of Kharg Island, Iran's main oil terminal in the Gulf. (AP)

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**STROLLING FAIRGOERS** — Early visitors to the New Orleans world's fair, which opened last weekend, walk past an area of the fairgrounds known as the Wonder Wall.

## U.S. Parties Hope to Reap Bonanzas at Conventions

By Thomas B. Edsall

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Politicians and promoters are using this summer's Republican and Democratic national conventions as opportunities to raise funds and make arrangements with corporations that often appear to skirt the spirit, if not the letter, of U.S. election laws.

Everything from hotel reservations to photographs with the candidates is being offered to encourage contributions. Inducements also include "Gold Passports," tax-deductible contributions to "charitable foundations," exclusive invitations to the White House and reserved seats at the inauguration next January.

The Democrats will convene July 16 to 19 in San Francisco to nominate a presidential candidate. The Republicans will meet Aug. 20 to 23 in Dallas to renominate President Ronald Reagan.

Each party's host committee has raised \$2.5 million from major corporations and individual donors and each party has made American Airlines its "official convention" airline in return for reduced air fares. The Republicans have made AT&T the "official provider" of telephone service.

The Democrats' lists of delegates and others attending the convention are being given to contributing corporations for marketing purposes. Other donors can use the party logo on "official" convention T-shirts and glasses.

In Dallas, a local Republican convention committee has created a Gold Club for individual donors who contribute \$20,000 for a special Gold Passport, which will give access to a hospitality room, entry to private parties and meetings with Mr. Reagan and other high Republican officials.

At the same time, the Republican National Committee is using the convention as an attraction for its large contributors to raise \$6.9 million for the general election campaign through a Presidential Trust to which they can give a minimum of \$10,000, or up to the legal maximum of \$20,000.

In a letter to Republican Eagles — those who regularly give at least \$10,000 to the Republicans — Mike Curb, the finance chairman, said major donors will get reserved VIP seating for all convention events, a private reception only for trustees at the convention, an invitation to the White House for a personal meeting with the president and reserved tickets to all inaugural activities.

In a separate Dallas fund-raising drive, Trammell Crow, who sides with the world's largest building and development organization, has pulled in \$2.5 million toward a goal of \$3.9 million from such companies as Atlantic Richfield, the Southland Corp., Hunt Oil, Diamond Shamrock and some of Mr. Crow's "own personal corporations." The gifts range from \$50,000 to \$150,000.

Mr. Crow has also built a 700-room tower for his Loews Anatole Hotel, the largest hotel in Texas, with a lavish suite to house Mr. Reagan. Other rooms will go to Mr. Reagan's staff, the White House press corps and the California delegation.

The host committees have been set up as charitable foundations so that they can accept corporate donations, unlike political committees. More important, the donations are tax deductible.

The Republicans are also trading special convention marketing privileges with American Airlines, Computop and Southwestern Bell in return for reduced-cost services. The Democrats are also proving that they know how to raise campaign funds.

Walter Shorenstein, a San Francisco developer and the prime Democratic fund-raiser, has exceeded his goal of \$2.5 million, with \$100,000 contributions from the Bank of America, Bechtel Corp.

Chevron USA, the Levi Strauss heiress Madeleine Russell, and Anne Getty, wife of the oilman Gordon P. Getty, Atlantic Richfield also has donated \$100,000 to the Democrats, matching its contribution to the Republican convention fund.

Asked to describe his fund-raising techniques, Mr. Shorenstein replied that he says to a prospective donor, "Make the contribution and whatever we have in the way of benefits, we will see that you will get them. . . . You are the people who are going to get them. Whatever is available, you will get."

For smaller donors willing to put up a minimum of \$5,000, the Democrats have created the 1984 Democratic National Convention Club. Members will get two seats to all sessions of the convention, "guaranteed reservations for VIP hotel accommodations at two of the finest hotels in San Francisco: the Mark Hopkins or the Fairmont, unlimited access to the VIP lounge at the Moscone Center and VIP

tickets to a variety of special programs and events.

A contribution of \$10,000 guarantees dinner with the presidential and vice presidential nominees; \$25,000 gets an invitation to a reception with the candidates; \$100,000 secures the chance to be photographed with the nominees.

Like the Republicans, the Democrats have made American Airlines the official convention airline in return for a guarantee to provide round-trip tickets between Washington and San Francisco for \$359.

The Democrats are making "licensing" arrangements with companies marketing "official" convention cups, trinkets, T-shirts and other memorabilia. These deals — the sellers give back a royalty on sales — may net the party as much as \$200,000.

## Hart Is Favored to Win Most Delegates In Nebraska, Oregon Primaries Today

United Press International  
WASHINGTON — Senator Gary Hart is favored to win most of the 67 delegates from the Nebraska and Oregon primaries Tuesday in the race for the Democratic presidential nomination.

The Colorado senator is heavily favored to win the Oregon primary Tuesday, which has 43 delegates, and is expected to edge out Walter F. Mondale the same day in Nebraska, where 24 delegates will be decided.

But Mr. Mondale needs only 435 more delegates to win the nomination at the convention, about half the number of the delegates in the remaining eight primaries and caucuses. The count of delegates by United Press International showed Monday that Mr. Mondale had 1,532, Senator Hart 886, and the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson 305. The winner needs 1,967 of the 3,933 delegates.

Senator Hart is campaigning heavily in Oregon. His strategists said a victory will give him momentum.

### Suspect Added to FBI List

United Press International  
WASHINGTON — The FBI has named Victor Mammie Gerena, 25, a security guard wanted in connection with an armed robbery of \$7 million from a West Hartford, Connecticut, security company, to its list of Ten Most Wanted Fugitives.

turn heading into the June 5 primary in California, where 306 delegates are at stake.

"We have been saying since the early days," a Hart spokesman said, "that one of the many reasons Hart would be a strong Democratic candidate is that he would be able to bring Western states into the Democratic fold."

A poll in The Oregonian newspaper in Portland on Sunday gave Senator Hart a 2-1 edge over Mr. Mondale.

A spokesman for Mr. Mondale said he doubted the former vice president could counteract the Hart effort in Oregon. Both candidates campaigned in Nebraska, where political observers said the race is closer, with Mr. Mondale counting on the state's moderate Democrats and Senator Hart appealing to the more progressive wing of the party.

### Hispanics Back Mondale

Frank Clifford of the Los Angeles Times reported from San Jose, California.

The Mexican-American Political Association, California's most prominent Hispanic political organization, on Sunday endorsed Mr. Mondale by a tiny margin over Mr. Jackson.

The outcome suggests that Mr. Jackson may do much better in California than he has done elsewhere among Hispanic voters. It may also have an impact on

Mr. Mondale, who won 80 percent of the Hispanic vote in the recent Texas caucuses and who has received the most endorsements from Hispanic political leaders in the Southwest.

The results Sunday are the first indications of Hispanic voting preferences in the Democratic presidential campaign in California, the state with the highest number of Hispanic residents.

Fernando Chavez, president of the association, reported that Mr. Mondale received 46.3 percent of the votes cast by association delegates, Mr. Jackson 44.8 percent and Senator Hart 8.9 percent.

All three candidates spoke Sunday at the association convention. In separate appearances, the three attacked the policies of the Reagan administration and offered much the same message on many of the issues perceived as most important to Hispanic voters in California. The three candidates said they were unequivocally opposed to the Simpson-Mazoli immigration bill, which would penalize employers who hire illegal aliens.

"Destroy Simpson-Mazoli," said Mr. Jackson, speaking in the strongest language of the three on the issue.

All three candidates said they would increase federal support for bilingual education. All three pledged stronger support for the Voting Rights Act and civil rights in general.

## Special Prosecutor Is Ordered Over Purloined Carter Papers

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — A federal judge on Monday ordered Attorney General William French Smith to appoint a special prosecutor to investigate allegations that Ronald Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign illegally obtained briefing papers prepared for President Jimmy Carter.

U.S. District Judge Harold H. Greene rejected all the Justice Department's arguments as to why the investigation into actions of Reagan campaign officials — many of whom are now high officials in the Reagan administration — should not be started.

Judge Greene said Attorney General Smith must appoint a special prosecutor within seven days and specifically rejected the department's request for a stay of his order until an appeal could be filed.

The ruling comes three months after the Justice Department closed its books on the case without bringing any criminal prosecutions. At

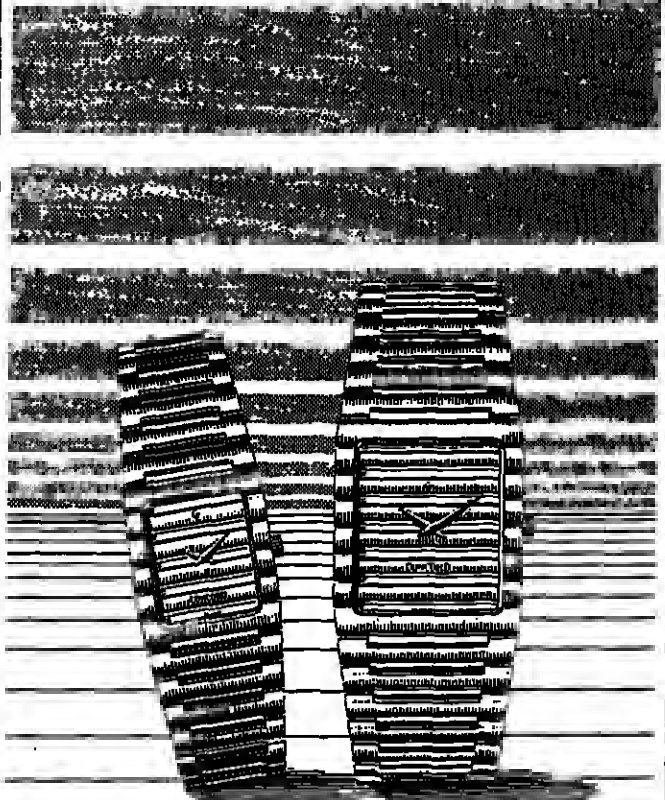
the time, the government said there was insufficient evidence to put into effect the special prosecutor law.

A Justice Department spokesman, Tom DeCair, said there would be no comment until officials could study the opinion.

In two other cases within the past year, federal judges have ordered Attorney General Smith to conduct preliminary inquiries under the special prosecutor act.

In 1980, the Reagan campaign came into possession of briefing materials that had been prepared for President Carter before his debate with Mr. Reagan just a week before the election.

Top Reagan officials — including the White House chief of staff, James A. Baker 3d, Budget Director David Stockman 3d, and William J. Casey, director of the CIA — have been linked to the papers in one way or another. And the various officials have put out contradictory statements on the matter.



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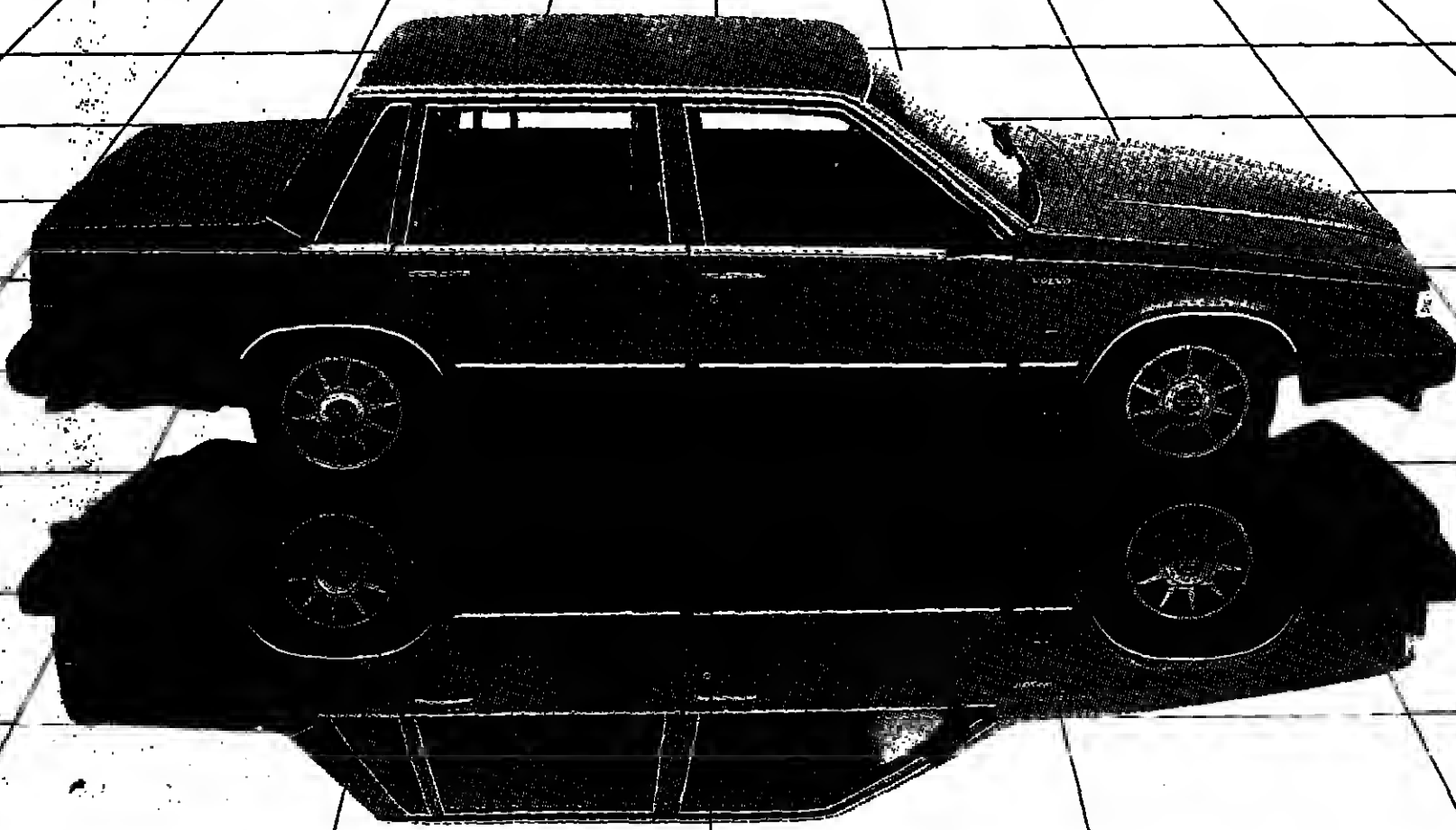
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## Cuba's Grenada Envoys Fall Into Obscurity

**Havana Blames Its Reversal on Island On Shoddy Diplomatic Reporting**

By Joseph B. Treaster  
New York Times Service

HAVANA — The two senior Cuban officials in Grenada at the time of the U.S.-led invasion of the island last fall have quietly dropped out of sight and are apparently in disgrace, Western diplomats here say.

Neither Julian Torres Rizo, the Cuban ambassador to Grenada at the time, nor Colonel Pedro Tortolo Comas, who was sent to Grenada shortly before the invasion to shore up the defenses of the nearly 800 Cubans who were building an airfield on the island, have been seen at official functions in months, the diplomats say.

Middle-level Cuban officials said they did not know where the two men were now and requests to talk with senior Cuban officials were denied.

The diplomats say that another Cuban Foreign Service officer, Oscar Oswaldo Cardenas, the former Cuban ambassador to Suriname, has also fallen into disfavor because of events related to the turmoil in Grenada.

Mr. Cardenas, the diplomats said, is believed to be working now at a low-level job in the Interior Ministry.

Neither Mr. Torres Rizo nor Mr. Tortolo was present at the ceremony in mid-November to honor the 24 Cubans who were killed by U.S. troops in Grenada, according to the diplomats. They were also absent at the annual May Day parade in Havana. Both events were attended by President Fidel Castro and most senior government and party officials.

The diplomats discount rumors that Mr. Torres Rizo and Mr. Tortolo are under house arrest. Both have apparently been assigned to obscure posts. One diplomat said he had heard that Mr. Tortolo had been made deputy director of a military school in the interior of Cuba, while Mr. Torres Rizo was now working at a "very technical" position in the Foreign Ministry.

By some accounts, Grenada, under the leadership of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, had become almost a Cuban surrogate, with Mr. Torres Rizo being consulted on most important decisions.

But in mid-September last year, as the central committee of the ruling New Jewel Movement forced Mr. Bishop to share power with his deputy prime minister, Bernard Coard, something began to go wrong with Cuba's diplomatic reporting system.

Havana did not realize, Cuban officials said later, the depth of

division between Grenada's leaders. It was caught in surprise when Mr. Bishop was slain and General Hudson Austin, the commander of Grenada's army, formed a revolutionary council to run the island.

President Castro later told a reporter that Cuba's representatives in Grenada "had absolutely no idea what was happening."

Some Western diplomats say they find it difficult to believe that the Cuban ambassador was unaware of developments in so tiny a country as Grenada, which has a population of only about 100,000, and where politics are the preserve of a small elite.

The diplomats suggest that Mr. Torres Rizo might have been reluctant to be the bearer of bad news to President Castro about the Cuban leader's close friend, Mr. Bishop.

Alternatively, the ambassador might have been reporting accurately and in full detail, but the disappointing developments were not being imparted to Mr. Castro by officials in Cuba who either doubted the news or sought to shield their president from it.

Shortly before his death, Mr. Bishop met with Mr. Castro in Cuba and indicated that there were growing political problems in Grenada, according to a diplomat, citing an official who attended the meeting.

But Mr. Bishop reportedly did not stress the problems, the diplomat said, and Mr. Castro did not recognize the gravity of his visitor's remarks.

Shortly before the invasion, Mr. Castro became aware that a military operation was in the offing and dispatched to Grenada both Mr. Tortolo and Carlos Diaz, a diplomat and Caribbean political specialist.

Both officials were at the airfield when U.S. paratroopers began landing. Following Mr. Castro's orders for the Cubans to defend their positions to the end, Mr. Diaz stood firm and was killed. Mr. Tortolo, however, fled to the safety of the Soviet Embassy.

After the invasion, Suriname, which had become an ally to Cuba in 1980 when Lieutenant Colonel Desi Bouterse seized power, canceled all its agreements with Cuba and asked it to recall its ambassador, Mr. Cardenas.

Cuba responded by bringing home all of its diplomats in Suriname and stopped short of formally breaking relations.

"Suriname was afraid it would receive the same treatment from the United States as Grenada," a diplomat said.



José Napoleón Duarte, left, a Christian Democrat, was congratulated on his election as president of El Salvador by René Fortín Magaña of the rightist Democratic Action Party.

## For Duarte, a Question of Balance

**He Faces Job of Advancing Democracy, Calming Fears**

By Lydia Chavez  
New York Times Service

SAN SALVADOR — As president of El Salvador, José Napoleón Duarte will have to balance his own ideas of democracy and increasing the power of the civilian government with the task of calming suspicions held by some private citizens and the armed forces that such pursuits will rob them of wealth and power.

To many Americans, Mr. Duarte is known as a moderate political leader. Within the context of U.S. politics he would be considered a centrist.

However, in El Salvador, he has been an iconoclastic political leader who for decades has fought against the traditional power of the armed forces and the landed class.

While many Americans perceive the battle as one necessary to establish a democratic state, the traditional wielders of power in El Salvador suspect that it could lead to socialism or even to communism.

Mr. Duarte's political history has made him many enemies. As the head of the military-civilian junta that governed El Salvador from 1980 to 1982, he is associated with the most radical land-redistribution program in Latin America, the nationalization of the banks and the country's worst two years of violence.

He is also remembered as a political leader who believed U.S. promises of lavish economic aid and then presided over the collapse of the Salvadoran economy.

Already, the far right is taking advantage of that history to play on the fears of many Salvadorans. In the press and on radio, the rightists are challenging his election and casting Mr. Duarte as the enemy of private enterprise and a puppet of the United States.

The Central Elections Council declared Mr. Duarte the winner of the May 6 presidential election

with 53.6 percent of the vote. His opponent, Roberto d'Aubuisson, said he would not accept the results, but has not formally challenged them. Salvadoran and U.S. officials say it is unlikely that Mr. d'Aubuisson, of the far-right Nationalist Republican Alliance,

could successfully contest the results, and they expect Mr. Duarte to be sworn in June 1.

To the far rightists, Mr. Duarte is a rebel, a man intent on destroying a system that for so long worked to their advantage. But even middle-class and lower-class Salvadorans are leery of him — the former because they are afraid of losing what little they have, the latter because they are afraid of the violence that his efforts at change have brought in the past.

To the leftist insurgents, Mr. Duarte is a pawn of the United States and a "fool" to believe that the traditional rulers in El Salvador will share power with a civilian government.

While the examples usually given to illustrate Mr. Duarte's more liberal tendencies are generally taken from 1980 to 1982, his reputation as a political rebel began during his three successive terms as mayor of San Salvador.

It is during these years in the 1960s that he adopted the theory of "communitarianism." The doctrine essentially seeks to decentralize power held by a few authorities and give it to the populace.

When the traditional decision-makers objected to a project, Mr. Duarte called on residents to protest. It showed Salvadorans for the first time that they could affect government decisions through political action.

It was a revolutionary concept, and even some middle-class Salvadorans who had supported Mr. Duarte and worked for the city

believed that he was moving too fast, according to Johnny Maldonado, a business leader.

The traditional rulers were threatened because decision-making power was being taken out of their hands. But many Salvadorans who had never held power also were jeopardized because to ask for a role in government became tantamount to putting their lives in danger.

The far right's characterization of Mr. Duarte as a U.S. puppet also plays on the distrust upper-class Salvadorans have of the United States and doubts about Washington's willingness to support the changes it keeps suggesting.

This distrust stems primarily from the economic tailspin that began in El Salvador after the United States insisted on economic reforms after the 1979 coup.

Salvadoran leaders were told, "If you go through with the reforms, the United States is going to help you," said a U.S. official. "Land reform will nail communism to the wall," some rightists recall the United States promising.

Mr. Duarte believed and acted on those promises, but the economic aid that was expected never arrived. Senator Jesse Helms, Republican of North Carolina, introduced a bill in Congress that prohibited U.S. aid from paying Salvadoran landowners for their expropriated property.

At the same time, the world prices for coffee and other Salvadoran commodities began to fall in 1980, and not enough U.S. aid was forthcoming to prevent the recession that has left 40 percent of the people jobless.

Despite Mr. Duarte's pledge that there will be no more economic reforms, there is fear among businessmen that what they have could be taken away.

At this juncture, most people seem prepared to wait and see what Mr. Duarte does as president.

## Covert Action Needed, Reagan Adviser Says

(Continued from Page 1)  
half of administration policies, as he did Sunday on NBC.

He was asked about predictions by former Vice President Walter F. Mondale, a Democratic presidential hopeful, that if President-elect José Napoleón Duarte failed to resolve the conflict, U.S. troops would be sent to El Salvador before or right after the U.S. presidential election in November. Mr. McFarlane responded, "The United States has not, is not now, I don't anticipate will plan in the future for the involvement of U.S. troops in combat in Central America."

He was asked if the United States was being drawn into a situation analogous to Vietnam, where U.S. involvement grew from aid and advisers to direct combat.

"Only if we don't do enough right now to enable the Salvadorans, Hondurans to do it themselves," he replied.

He said that, if not enough aid was supplied, "then we are assuring that later on they will lose."

When he was asked if this meant the United States would send in troops rather than "lose" in El Salvador, he said: "The United States at all times and today will defend its interests. That condition simply doesn't exist today and I'm confident we can prevent its occurrence."

Covert actions in Nicaragua are in danger of being halted, administration officials have said, because of a rapid depletion of funds. The Congress has not approved \$21 million in additional money requested in February for anti-government Nicaraguan guerrillas, and there is a strong possibility it will never do so.

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Mr. Reagan, in a policy speech last week on Central America, condemned Nicaragua, Cuba and the Soviet Union



## 11 Dissidents in Poland Reject Offer of Freedom Conditional on Exile

By John Kifner

New York Times Staff

WARSAW — An effort by the authorities to persuade a group of key figures in the banned Solidarity labor union to leave jail fell apart over the weekend when they rejected the government's latest offer, according to dissident sources.

As a result, the government of General Wojciech Jaruzelski is still stuck with the embarrassing presence of the 11 political prisoners, whom the government has accused of conspiring to overthrow Poland's Communist system.

Most of the 11 — seven top Solidarity leaders and four dissident intellectuals of the disbanded KOR human rights movement who were advisers to the union — have been in jail for nearly two and a half years without trial.

Their incarceration and possible trial stand in the way of any further easing of Western sanctions imposed after the military takeover that crushed Solidarity at the end of 1981, Western diplomats say.

While a trial would increase Poland's international isolation, the diplomats say, the authorities cannot drop the charges because it would make the government look foolish and possibly upset Moscow.

As a part of the government's efforts, begun last fall, to resolve the situation, the interior minister, General Czeslaw Kiszczak, has visited the families of the prisoners urging them to accept offers to go abroad in exchange for their release, according to the dissident sources.

On Friday, members of the group were taken from prison to a retreat outside of Warsaw for what was described as a "final" discussion and a decision on an offer extended through the Roman Catholic Church that the group sign a pledge to abstain from political activity for two years, according to one dissident source in touch with the prisoners.

The group rejected the offer, the source said.

"Their position is that they are absolutely innocent," the source said. "Accepting any sort of deal would mean that they admit there could be something in this accusation."

In an open letter rejecting a government offer last December, Adam Michnik, a historian who is considered the most militant of the group, wrote: "To admit so openly the trampling of the law one must be a fool, that being a jail supervisor, to offer a man imprisoned for two years to go to the French Riviera in exchange for a moral suicide, one must be a pig, and that to believe I would accept such a deal, one has to assume that every man is no more than a police informer."

In addition to Mr. Michnik, the KOR intellectuals are Jacek Kuron, Henryk Wujec and Zbigniew Romaszewski. The former Solidarity leaders are Andrzej Gwiazda, Seweryn Jaworski, Marian Jurczyk, Karol Modzelewski, Grzegorz Palka, Jan Rulowski and Andrzej Rozpachowski.

### ■ Glemp Insists on Rights

Cardinal Jozef Glemp, in one of his strongest sermons on church-state relations in Poland, said the Roman Catholic Church will insist on its right to spiritual autonomy, United Press International reported from Krakow.

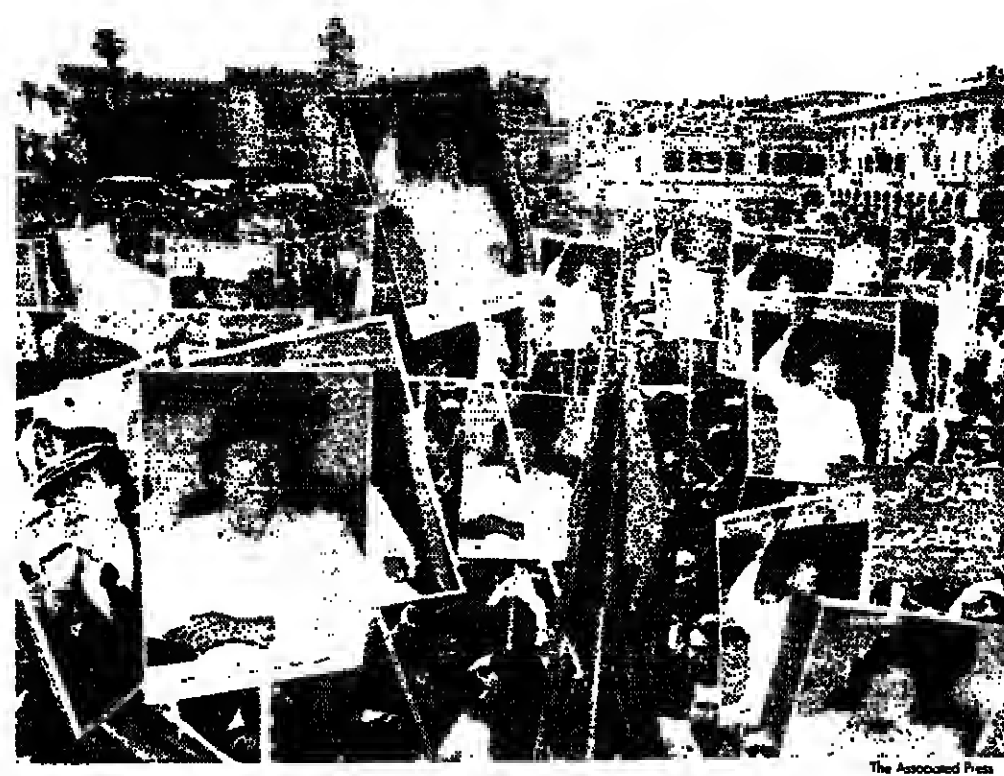
Cardinal Glemp, who has been criticized for not opposing the government strongly enough, spoke Sunday at an outdoor service attended by at least 70,000 people to honor St. Stanislaw, a bishop of Krakow murdered 900 years ago for opposing a king who tried to dominate church affairs.

"It is possible in a state ruled by Marxists to achieve recognition of spiritual autonomy for the church," Cardinal Glemp asked. "Is it possible that those who not so long ago wanted to liquidate the church, to subjugate it to themselves, would be willing to respect the church's right of spiritual autonomy?"

Answering his rhetorical questions, he said, "It is a Polish specialty to make impossible things possible."

### ■ A Solidarity Leader on Trial

Jozef Piniar, the Wroclaw leader of Solidarity arrested in April of last year after escaping capture for 17 months, was put on trial in that city on Friday, UPI reported from Warsaw. He is accused of having financed illegal underground activities.



Thousands of Libyans rallied in Tripoli to celebrate Colonel Moamer Qadhafi's escape from an attempted assassination. The Libyan leader himself was absent from the demonstration.

## Political, Security Reasons Are Seen In Qadhafi's Failure to Attend Rally

By Jonathan C. Randal

Washington Post Staff

TRIPOLI, Libya — Colonel Moamer Qadhafi, the Libyan leader, failed to show up at a mass rally celebrating his escape from an assassination attempt last week. Speculation attributed his decision to both security and political considerations.

The rally on Sunday at Green Square near the Mediterranean waterfront passed noisily, but without what Colonel Qadhafi's aides earlier had suggested would be an appearance followed by demonstrations outside the British and Tunisian embassies.

At the rally, attended by as many as 20,000, predominantly young people, Britain, Tunisia, the United States and Sudan again were denounced for their alleged roles in the still-mysterious gun battle last Tuesday less than a mile from Colonel Qadhafi's army barracks headquarters.

Earlier, Libya's official press said the alleged leader of the attack, Wajdi Shweidi, 24, was killed Saturday night in a shootout in the center of Tripoli.

The press said two other accomplices had been captured and a fourth participant in the plot, blamed on the fundamentalist Moslem Brotherhood, was still at large.

Arab sources close to Colonel Qadhafi suggested that he may have stayed away from the rally not just for security reasons, but because he had little to gain — and potentially a great deal to lose — by heightening the tension over the attack.

They quoted Libyan officials as arguing that events since the shoot-

ing outside the Libyan Embassy in London last month indicated that the United States, Britain and their Tunisian and Sudanese friends provoked a crisis — and aided the infiltrators — in hopes of pushing Colonel Qadhafi into precipitate action.

Symptomatic of his foreign policy problems, and of his highly developed instinct for self-preservation, was his offer Friday to pull out of Chad "immediately" if France agreed to remove the 3,000 troops it sent there last August to block Libya's force of 6,000.

[France is studying the proposal, officials in Paris said Monday, according to Reuters. The French minister of European affairs, Roland Dumas, said Sunday night that it "effectively contains proposals on the withdrawal of Libyan troops from Chad. It is an important event. In any case it's a new development which may constitute an opening, a hope for a return to a more normal situation in Chad."]

Once before, in 1981, Colonel Qadhafi confounded his critics by withdrawing from Chad just when they were convinced he had begged his army down irretrievably, in a far larger military operation there.

Domestically, Colonel Qadhafi's pursuit of reforms ran into embarrassing rejection from traditional Moslems in February during a session of the General People's Congress, the grass-roots parliament he has championed.

The congress rejected such proposals as obligatory military training for young women, greater rights for women in divorce cases and scuttling some grade-school classes in favor of mothers' instructing children at home.

"That was the first time anyone

dared to say no to Qadhafi so openly," a long-time analyst remarked. Also fueling discontent was Colonel Qadhafi's nationalization of commerce, which has closed down even private barber shops and pastry stores, with restaurants due to follow.

Six days after tank fire dislodged the opposition infiltrators from a residential building here, many questions remained unanswered. The London-based National Front for the Salvation of Libya, which claimed responsibility for the infiltration, has said that its men attacked the Bab al-Aziziya barracks housing Colonel Qadhafi's residence and office.

But Westerners who visited the barracks after the incident said they saw no evidence of shooting, and the government has denied any such attack took place.

Libyan security was reported to have detained as many as 200 suspects after the shooting Tuesday, which reportedly claimed the lives of 60 soldiers and militiamen.

Meanwhile, the Libyan press reported Sunday that the Foreign Ministry summoned Belgian and Italian diplomats to lodge complaints about alleged British and U.S. support for the infiltrators. Belgium and Italy, respectively, look after U.S. and British interests here.

An Italian diplomat said no protest was lodged during his meeting, which dealt with complaints about British press coverage of opposition groups. The complaint to the Belgians, according to the Libyans, dealt with the arrest in Philadelphia last week of two Libyans apprehended while allegedly trying to purchase two pistols with silencers from undercover FBI agents.

## Virginia College Course Stresses 'Waging Peace'

### Conflict Resolution Is Mushrooming As Academic Discipline in the U.S.

By Carol Krucoff

Washington Post Staff

WASHINGTON — "We're going to start throwing bodies out the window," the man in the ski mask shouted into the intercom, pushing the ambassador to his knees and putting a gun to his head. "Someone's going to die."

On the other end of the line, the negotiator loosened his tie and took a deep breath. In the 20 minutes since a band of terrorists called to say they had taken the ambassador and his family hostage, the official had tried several tactics to defuse the situation.

Now he tried a stalling maneuver, saying soothingly into the intercom: "Are you comfortable? Can we get you anything to eat or drink?"

"That's it!" the terrorist yelled to a companion holding a gun on the ambassador's wife. "We're going to blow her head off!"

A shot exploded. The ambassador's wife slumped over. "That was quick," said Bryant Wedge, a social psychiatrist, to a group of graduate students watching a videotape of the "Hostage Negotiation Role-Play" that they had enacted earlier in the course.

"John, I think it would have been better to repeat their demands back to them at that point," Mr. Wedge said to the retired U.S. Navy captain who had portrayed the State Department negotiator. "But you had the right idea — keep them talking. As long as they're talking they don't do anything."

Mock meditations between warring factions — be they bosses and workers, environmentalists and industrialists or husbands and wives — are a crucial part of the nation's first master's degree program in conflict intervention.

"We train military people by the tens of thousands and diplomats by the thousands," said Mr. Wedge, founder and director of George Mason University's Center for Conflict Resolution in Fairfax, Virginia. "Now we're finally teaching people how to wage peace."

Conflict resolution is one of the fastest-growing academic disciplines in the United States, with hundreds of workshops springing up around the country for lawyers, therapists, social workers and others.

"We have come to realize," Mr. Wedge said, "that, in virtually all disputes, resolutions work best when people participate in the decisions that will affect them. The mediator does not hand down a judgment. He or she helps the disputing parties solve the problem themselves."

The study of conflict and how it is caused, prevented, managed and resolved began in academic circles after World War I. The field has

mushroomed in recent years with the fear that with nuclear weapons the traditional method of settling disputes — slugging it out — may leave neither victors nor spoils.

Mr. Wedge's efforts began in 1959 when he left Yale University, where he was chief psychiatrist at the department of university health, to accept an Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship. On a tour of 15 countries, he was invited to a party where officials of a U.S.-Soviet university exchange program were screaming at each other.

"They were accusing each other of bad faith and sabotage," Mr. Wedge recalled. "when it was just a bloody misunderstanding." He stepped in to help settle the dispute and realized "we like to think that those in high places know what they're doing and the world is safe. But from this close encounter I wasn't so sure."

The traditional tendency to "Call out the Marines" when conflict threatens to get nasty can leave you with a lot of dead Marines," Mr. Wedge said. "But a skilled negotiator can turn a win-lose situation into a win-win situation. A true, honest broker can do things all the diplomacy and gunboat stuff can't touch."

George Mason's program is a prototype for the National Peace Academy, the subject of a bill cosponsored by 34 U.S. senators and 169 U.S. representatives. The U.S. Academy of Peace Act would authorize \$2.5 million to train Americans and leaders of other nations in "the art of conflict resolution without resort to violence."

But aides to Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., Republican of Tennessee, said he had no plans to schedule the bill, largely, its proponents assert, because it is opposed by the White House.

The academy is "a new goody-two-shoes boondoggle" proposed by the "Jane Fonda's of the Senate," said Edwin Feulner, president of the Heritage Foundation, a conservative research organization. "It would have you believe a few courses in international hugging and kissing will turn even Yasser Arafat into a gentle little pussycat."

Those in favor of the bill counter that U.S. taxpayers support four military academies and five war colleges and contend that State Department opposition is prompted by fear of competition.

### Irish President Visits Bonn

The Associated Press

BONN — President Patrick J. Hillery of Ireland was welcomed with military honors in Bonn on Monday and then had talks with President Karl Carstens at the start of a five-day official visit.

## U.K. Police and Miners Play at Cat-and-Mouse

By Brian Cathcart

Reuters

NOTTINGHAM, England — If you go for a drive these days along the quiet country roads of Britain's Midlands county of Nottinghamshire, the police will want to know why.

At junctions, around blind corners and at expressway exits, there are roadblocks and lookouts where police officers question drivers, watch traffic and mutter into walkie-talkies.

It is not a manhunt, and it is not a traffic census. They are looking for miners.

For Nottinghamshire, the site of Britain's second-biggest coalfield, is the main battleground of a nine-week-old strike that has set the miners against the government, against each other and against the police.

Many local pitmen have refused to join the walkout, so thousands of striking miners flood in from other coalfields every day to try to change their minds and shut down the whole industry.

The miners' weapon is the mobile squads of strikers that swoop on colliery gates with the scarcely concealed intention of intimidating their working colleagues into joining the walkout. In 1974, such pickets enabled the miners to close not only all their own pits, but also many coal-fired power stations. That strike lasted four weeks and helped topple the Conservative government of Prime Minister Edward Heath.

The difference today is that these mobile squads are illegal under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government, as are mass pickets. So police now have the power to ground the mobile miners, and a tense game of cat-and-mouse is played out every day on the roads of Nottinghamshire.

When a roadblock halts a carload of miners, police can turn

them around and send them home on the grounds that they are traveling with intent to create a disturbance. If they refuse, they may be arrested and the car impounded.

Where a picket gathers, police are rushed to the scene in almost equal numbers. The tactics bring charges of police harassment, and the miners' leader, Arthur Scargill, protests that Britain is a police state.

The miners are striking against the closure of pits and loss of jobs in an industry subsidized heavily by the government and producing more coal than it can sell. Before the strike, a parliamentary estimate put state aid for the coal industry this year at £1.1 billion (\$1.5 billion).

The union's power center is next door in Yorkshire, with 56,000 men, the biggest coalfield and the most militant miners. There the mobile squads are coordinated. Every evening, a secret committee picks the mine to be the next day's target, and the word is passed along the grapevine.

To by-pass the roadblocks they discover tiny roads and forest tracks. They abandon their cars and walk miles through field and forest. They stage decoy pickets to draw police away from their real targets.

The strikers say the Nottinghamshire men have been "bought" by the Coal Board — they work the country's richest coal seams and get the highest bonuses. But the men defying the pickets say they are holding out for a national ballot on the strike.

### ■ Scargill Sees Long Strike

Speaking at a Nottinghamshire rally Monday, Mr. Scargill said he was prepared for the coal strike, now entering its 10th week, to last until winter, and he urged the minority of working miners to join the strike. The Associated Press reported.

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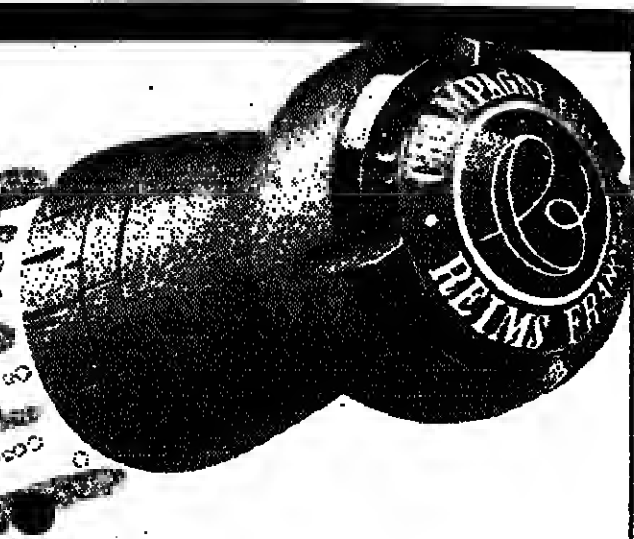
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# INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

## The Threat to Sakharov

There is reason to suspect that at this moment the Soviet government is coolly and deliberately ensuring a mounting threat to the life of one of the great men of the 20th century, the physicist and peace activist Andrei Sakharov. The 62-year-old dissident is known to have begun a hunger strike more than a week ago at Gorki, where he lives in internal exile.

His purpose was to mobilize international opinion to induce the Kremlin authorities to allow his wife, Yelena Bonner, to travel abroad briefly for medical and family purposes.

Mrs. Bonner herself has since been confined to Gorki — and reportedly has also begun a hunger strike — so there is no reliable word for outsiders to keep track of the condition of her husband. But given the intense interest in Mr. Sakharov, it is hard to believe that the authorities would maintain the secrecy over Gorki if the threat to his life had been lifted.

Soviet officials profess outrage at the continued flow of foreign concern for one of their citizens. They find such concern provocative and essentially political in its character. In a sense the concern is disproportionate, but there is a reason: The Sakharovs and a few others have become in Western opinion the surrogates for all the brave individuals, known and unknown, who dare to assert the calls of conscience against the whims of Soviet power.

What the Kremlin has been doing to the Sakharovs is pure malice and vindictiveness — the policy of a petty, frightened power lacking in both decency and self-confidence. What imperatives of high policy require an ill woman to be vilified, harassed by the KGB and now denied the medical treatment and family companionship of her choice? What perverse considerations of national pride compel the Kremlin to make an example of its abuse of a Nobel peace laureate?

We observed last week that the moment of the Sakharovs' evident renewed distress was scarcely the time for America's National Academy of Sciences to resume the scientific exchanges it had cut off as a protest over mistreatment of its distinguished foreign associate. The academy's president, Frank Press, responded by saying, among other things, that exchange channels are needed "to communicate humanitarian concerns."

Humanitarian concerns do need to be communicated — by the Soviet authorities. They need to stop their sickening harassment of the Sakharovs and to re-establish the couple's link with the outside world. The proper humanitarian contribution of American scientists is to suspend their exchange plans until the welfare of the Sakharovs is no longer in doubt.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Aid as Riot Insurance

Those food riots that rattled the Dominican Republic have also rattled Washington. Everybody concedes that more should have been done to bolster a democratic government before food prices jumped up in compliance with austerity terms for an IMF loan. The State Department has now scraped up \$15 million in additional credits and Congress is considering \$75 million more to aid. Why was this help not extended before Santo Domingo was shaken by the worst violence in a generation?

One explanation is that foreign aid is so tangled in restrictions that it takes the skills of a safecracker to find and extract funds from various budgets. When the Dominican president, Salvador Jorge Blanco, visited Washington in April, the State Department scoured the cupboard for additional aid. It came up with \$23.5 million in new aid — a feat we failed to acknowledge in an earlier comment (HTT, May 2) — bringing total aid to \$133.5 million. But even that was well below the margin of safety.

What especially might have helped him was not available: more food aid in the form of low-cost wheat, rice and corn. Because of

worldwide food shortages, the bin was empty. Although Congress wants to enlarge this \$791-million program by \$175 million, passage has been snagged by extraneous amendments.

Still, every time the Reagan administration puts a high priority on an aid request, it somehow manages to find the money. When Grenada needed help, an extra \$40 million was drawn from unused funds earmarked for Lebanon. When Congress stalled on aid to El Salvador, President Reagan announced his readiness to reach into contingency funds to keep the money flowing.

The Dominican Republic seemed stable, so its request did not reach the priority list. Emergency aid is viewed as disaster relief, not riot insurance. Thus, warnings that IMF conditions would cause unrest were ignored until they were proved correct. Until a better way is found to manage these adjustment loans, the same cycle will surely be repeated. Perhaps the Dominican lesson will aid poignance and persuasiveness when hard-pressed aid officials plead for disaster insurance.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Other Opinion

### Voting No on Salvador Violence

The people of El Salvador have paid for the country's ongoing civil war — a war that, without fomentation by the Soviet Union, Cuba and Nicaragua, would have flickered out long ago — with some 50,000 lives and the collapse of a promising economy. Amid this shattering crisis and in the face of threats and terror from left and right, a majority of the electors have opted for democracy.

They have had enough of violence and despair; they have had enough of its blood-drenched stalemate.

—The Neue Zürcher Zeitung (Zurich).

### High Stakes in the Philippines

The National Assembly election in the Philippines will be a test, but by no means a final one, of whether it is possible to restore healthy democracy to this nation torn by dissension and troubled by critical economic problems. There seems to be little doubt that President Marcos's New Society Movement will win a very comfortable majority. What is working in its favor is the evaporation of the unity among opposition parties that followed the assassination of the opposition leader Benigno Aquino.

Fair elections are necessary to encourage the opposition to put its faith in the democratic process. If the Philippines are angered by what they view as another rigged election, they may be inclined to seek violent means to achieve their political objectives.

It is hoped that the National Assembly election will be conducted in a blameless fashion and thus truly become the first major move toward restoring full democracy. This would be in the best interests of the Filipino people.

—The Japan Times (Tokyo).

### Time for Democratic Unity

For Walter Mondale it is all over but the doubting. The doubting is whether he can beat Ronald Reagan in November. But that is a problem for later. For now he can be satisfied that, despite a late flourish by Gary Hart in Indiana and Ohio, the Democratic nomination seems to be his. With just half a dozen primary

elections to go, it would take an earthquake or a robbery to deny him the nomination. So it is time for all good Democrats to sink their differences and coalesce behind Mr. Mondale in order to defeat the wicked Mr. Reagan in the autumn.

Getting [the Rev. Jesse] Jackson and his followers through the revolving door of the Democratic Party without at the same time expelling a lot of others is going to be a struggle. It may prove impossible this year. But the task is worth attempting.

Mr. Jackson has certainly brought many blacks into the political process for the first time and won the support of most black voters, both old and new. He is uniquely influential. The question he now has to face is whether he will lead his followers on into the mainstream, via the Democratic Party, or whether he will take them into a backwater of exclusiveness and impotence.

—The Economist (London).

### The Cold War Olympics

The issue clearly goes beyond the clasp of anti-Soviet rallies to the United States, and the security of its athletes. Rumors of alternative games being staged in Sofia, Bulgaria, have been circulating since November, long before this security brouhaha exploded. We hope that the Soviets will reconsider this ill-advised move. We hope, too, that the United States doesn't exacerbate the unhappy state of affairs by priming the pump of Cold War rhetoric. The United States should try to further accommodate the Soviet complaints.

—The Jakarta Post.

The hope that the U.S. boycott of the Moscow Olympic Games, and the successful U.S. pressure on some others to follow suit, were an aberration and that the Olympic movement would recover from the setback has been dashed by the Soviet decision to abstain from the forthcoming Olympiad at Los Angeles.

It would, however, be pointless to accuse the Russians of inept politics into sport. The association of the two has long been a fact of international life.

—The Statesman (New Delhi).

## Mondale's Failure To Prevail

By William Schneider

WASHINGTON — The Democrats do not have a candidate. That was the message of last week's split primary results, with Gary Hart winning in Ohio and Indiana and Walter Mondale winning in Maryland and North Carolina.

Mr. Mondale was supposed to administer the coup de grace to Mr. Hart's faltering campaign by sweeping all four states and wrapping up an insurmountable delegate lead. Instead, Super Tuesday II did for Mr. Hart what Super Tuesday I had done for Mr. Mondale on March 13: It kept him alive just when it looked as if he was about to go under.

Let the record show that, as of last Tuesday, the Republicans do have a candidate. On that day Ronald Reagan sewed up the Republican nomination by winning a majority of his party's delegates. And here are the Democrats, faced with an opponent who unites his own party and antagonizes Democrats to an unprecedented degree, still unable to decide who they are and what they want.

This was not supposed to happen. Democratic leaders were all set to bury Mr. Hart. But the corpse refused to show up. "I intend to be the nominee," Mr. Hart said on Sunday.

Of course most people still expect Mr. Mondale to be the nominee. One recent delegate count gives him 1,528 votes, which is 49 percent of the delegates chosen so far and 439 short of the majority needed for the nomination. Mr. Hart has 887 delegates and Jesse Jackson has 291.

But in order to guarantee a first-ballot nomination Mr. Mondale will have to win an absolute majority of the delegates to be chosen in the next month. Most of the remaining primary states are in the West, which is not good territory for him.

WASHINGTON — On the assumption that foreign policy will figure prominently in the U.S. presidential campaign this fall, Warren Christopher, who was Jimmy Carter's undersecretary of state, raises a plaintive question (HTT, May 8): "Are we destined to endure a dialogue of distraction, aimed at the lowest common denominator and the highest common vulgarity?"

In a word, yes, if the dialogue to date, just between the Democratic contenders, is a reasonable test. As distractions, it is hard to beat the issues of who was first in favor of a nuclear freeze, or who would be first to move the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

But first prize for vulgarity, so far, has to be Gary Hart's attack on Walter Mondale for his supposed role in "those days of shame for the United States in the Iranian hostage crisis."

The short-lived appearance of this issue in 1984 campaigning illustrates Mr. Christopher's point.

There are lessons to be learned from the hostage crisis, lessons about U.S. power that are worth debating in the context of current foreign policy



"C'mon, you guys — Gimme a hand, will ya?"

What the contest really demonstrates is that, while Mr. Mondale must be considered the favorite for the nomination, he is a perilously weak candidate. "He has yet to demonstrate that he represents more than 50 percent of the party," says Mr. Hart, who is right about this.

Mr. Hart is not a bad dream that will go away. His attacks on Mr. Mondale have struck. Whatever you may say about New England and Florida, there happen to be real Democrats in Ohio and Mr. Mondale did not turn them on — or out.

Can Mr. Mondale be stopped? Mr. Hart and Mr. Jackson would have to form a stop-Mondale coalition and prevent the uncommitted delegates, who will probably number about 600 after the primaries are over, from jumping on the Mondale bandwagon. Uncommitted delegates always end up voting for somebody, and Mr. Mondale needs only a small proportion of them to put him over the top.

While some are issue activists — nuclear freeze enthusiasts, for example — others are professional politicians who have a strong interest in being on the winning side. If Mr. Mondale looks as if he will be the standard bearer, Democrats with po-

litical ambitions of their own will not want to hold out against him.

Mr. Hart's potentially most compelling argument is that Mr. Mondale cannot win in November.

It is true that Mr. Hart gets more support from independents and Republicans than Mr. Mondale does. But can it be demonstrated that he would defeat Mr. Reagan? Not in any current polls. Mr. Reagan is so strong right now that he defeats both men by substantial margins — and Mr. Jackson by a landslide.

In a choice between "a known loser" and "an unknown loser," the party is likely to settle for Mr. Mondale. A recent Gallup Poll suggests that there is only one way out of this dilemma. It shows that, while Mr. Mondale loses to Mr. Reagan by 8 points and Mr. Hart loses by 3, a Mondale-Hart ticket comes out even against a Reagan-Bush ticket. So Mr. Mondale's best chance may be to heal the party's wounds by putting Mr. Hart on the ticket as vice president.

Can that happen? The fact is that Mr. Hart has only one real issue in his campaign, and that is antipathy toward Mr. Mondale's politics — "special interests," "the failed policies of the past." Mr.

Hart wins only by mobilizing anti-Mondale feeling, which is strong among young voters, independents, New Politics liberals and anti-labor conservatives. He did exactly that in Ohio and Indiana, where he campaigned extensively and aggressively against Mr. Mondale. Where he did not campaign very hard, in Maryland and North Carolina, he lost.

Mr. Mondale is an interest politician. He will try to find out what Mr. Hart's and Mr. Jackson's interests are and negotiate with them. But Mr. Hart's and Mr. Jackson's principal interest is to stop Mr. Mondale, and that is something he can hardly negotiate. Mr. Hart and Mr. Jackson are issue politicians, and they reject Mr. Mondale's (and the Democratic Party's) traditional way of doing business — with the economy and defense in Mr. Hart's case, with blacks in Mr. Jackson's case. It will be very difficult to buy them off.

In the short run, the prospects for Democratic unity do not look good. None of the candidates can see very far beyond June 5. Sooner or later, however, Mr. Hart and Mr. Jackson will realize that it is not in their interest to sabotage the Democratic ticket.

Los Angeles Times.

## A Booby Prize for Hart After a Surprising Lapse

By Philip Geyelin

WASHINGTON — On the assumption that foreign policy will figure prominently in the U.S. presidential campaign this fall, Warren Christopher, who was Jimmy Carter's undersecretary of state, raises a plaintive question (HTT, May 8): "Are we destined to endure a dialogue of distraction, aimed at the lowest common denominator and the highest common vulgarity?"

In a word, yes, if the dialogue to date, just between the Democratic contenders, is a reasonable test. As distractions, it is hard to beat the issues of who was first in favor of a nuclear freeze, or who would be first to move the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

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The short-lived appearance of this issue in 1984 campaigning illustrates Mr. Christopher's point.

There are lessons to be learned from the hostage crisis, lessons about U.S. power that are worth debating in the context of current foreign policy

issues. Ironically, nobody understands them — or used to understand them — better than Gary Hart.

Recognizing that he had gone much too far (but without acknowledging it), Mr. Hart backed down a few days later. He said that when he called his own party's last administration "weak" and "inept" in those days of "shame," he was only talking "in the context of our need to reform our military institutions and modernize our conventional forces." He had supported the ill-fated rescue mission and all he meant was that "we needed different kinds of equipment and we needed training" for such missions.

In fact, two years earlier the Carter administration had established the so-called Delta Force to deal with terrorists and hostage-takers. It had created an airlift capability that he had reason to hope would fit almost any foreseeable need. That it failed tragically at Desert One owes something to the awful intricacy of the mission and something to technical problems, interservice rivalry, faulty command — and bad luck.

But Mr. Hart is right: There was then, and there remains, plenty of room for improving counterterrorism techniques. Yet there is also no guarantee of success in these matters — which raises the larger question of how a democracy deals with adversity. In the heat of the campaign, Mr. Hart has shown us the wrong way.

The irony is that, at the time, he was exhibiting the right way, judging by statements provided by his office when I asked about Mr. Hart's recent statement that "Carter-Mondale" was producing "an America held hostage to the ayatollahs of the world."

On Nov. 8, 1979, four days after the U.S. Embassy in Tehran was seized, Mr. Hart proposed a 10-percent cutback in U.S. energy consumption to send a message to Iran "that the United States will not be subject to blackmail." There was no mention of military measures.

He said he had discussed the situation with — guess who? — Vice President Mondale, and "it is clear our government is making every diplomatic effort to secure the release of

the hostages." A press release later in November offered "six ways to answer the ayatollah" through various fuel-conservation measures.

Other statements expressed frustration and outrage over the "insanity of the situation." But unless there is something missing in the material provided by Mr. Hart's office, the senator accepted the helplessness of the U.S. position with admirable fortitude, and issued not one word of criticism of the Carter administration's handling of the affair.

Following the release of the hostages, Mr. Hart co-sponsored a Senate resolution expressing "deep appreciation" for the "strenuous efforts" of the Carter administration in helping to resolve the crisis.

I am not suggesting that Mr. Carter should be held blameless for the circumstances that led to the hostage-taking, any more than Ronald Reagan should be held blameless for his policy in Lebanon. I am suggesting that recognition of the limits forced even on superpowers is a sound test of a presidential candidate — as is a certain honest consistency in debate.

The Washington Post.

## Up Close, a More Complicated View of Damascus

By Anthony Lewis

DAMASCUS — What could improve relations between Syria and the United States? I asked Abdel Halim Khaddam, vice president in charge of foreign affairs. He answered: "Very simply, the United States should follow an American policy in the Middle East."

The theme is the same being heard nearly everywhere in the Arab world: surprise and bitterness that the United States, a superpower, allows its policy to be dictated by Israel. It is exactly the view expressed by King Hussein for all the sharp differences between Jordan and Syria. Here, as there, one senses not the rejection of a U.S. role but the desire for an effective one — a realization that without it there can be no regional peace.

Syrian officials tell this story: Five days after Israel invaded Lebanon in June 1982, Ambassador Philip Habib flew here with a letter from President Reagan to Syria's president, Hafez al-Assad. If Syria agreed to a cease-fire, it said, Israel would start withdrawing at once — and after a pause would continue to a complete withdrawal. President Assad agreed, but the Israeli Army drove on to Beirut.

"When a head of state addresses a letter to another," Mr. Khaddam said, "this means a clear undertaking. Otherwise what is the value of [such] messages? This matter played an important part in undermining the credibility of the United States, and prompted us to be cautious in our later discussions with American officials."

The U.S. view of that episode is different. The Reagan letter was not an undertaking, American diplomats say, but an idea being tried out. They say the Syrian government evidently did believe it had been misled.

In Lebanon today Syria is working for an effective control government. Mr. Khaddam said the new cabinet of Prime Minister Rashid Karami represented "the best opportunity for internal peace," and he thought it had "the will and intention to end the crisis." But the Syrians, with much fate at stake in a Lebanese solution, know it will not be easy to overcome the entrenched antagonisms of the Lebanese communal leaders.

Syrian support for a stable, unified Lebanon is consistent with expressed American goals, but here again the deep suspicion of Israel makes mutual understanding difficult.

Asked whether the United States could help in Lebanon now, Mr. Khaddam said it could "press Israel to withdraw, and to stop encouraging

some Lebanese parties to continue with the game of the civil war." The latter phrase apparently referred to Israel's contacts with extreme right-wing elements in the Christian Phalangist militia, which resisted the formation of the new unity government.

The Israeli government has said that further withdrawal depends on satisfactory security arrangements for the border. Asked about that, Mr. Khaddam said Israel used security as a "screen" for territorial expansion.

The alleged aim of the invasion was peace for Galilee, he said; but it had cost Israel 600 dead and 3,000 wounded — and "continued occupation means continued atrocity."

But he added that Syria would not object to any security arrangements made by the Lebanese government if they were consistent with "the independence and sovereignty of Lebanon."

There are in fact good reasons for President Assad to fear an actual victory by Iran, as opposed to the bleeding of Iraq. Far from favoring Islamic fundamentalism, he has ruthlessly suppressed it in Syria; the army killed 20,000 people in Hama two years ago

when the Muslim Brotherhood rose up there, and the wrecked houses and mosques can still be seen. Moreover, Iranian revolutionary guards in Lebanon are a threat to the stability Syria desires.

The Reagan administration has often denounced Syria as a Soviet pawn. No Western diplomat I met here believes that. "The relationship with the Soviet Union is no more than a cohabitation of convenience," based on Syria's need for weapons to counter Israel's great power, one diplomat said.

Up close, other views of Syria also turn out to be too simple. Mr. Assad's turn out to be too simple. Mr. Assad's iron control has rested on the military. Yet people say he has relied also on bourgeois support; one spoke of "the merchant-military complex."

Today, there are signs that the Age of Assad may be drawing to a close — but that is another subject.

The New York Times.

## The KGB Moves Up — and Back

By Leopold Unger

BRUSSELS — Thirty-two years after the great fright of the "doctors' plot," the Soviet secret police has uncovered another conspiracy. In 1952, what was then known as the NKVD rounded up a group of doctors, many with obviously Jewish names, and accused them of trying to assassinate Stalin.

In 1984, the KGB, successor of the NKVD, has, according to Tass, "foiled a large-scale operation planned by Andrei Sakharov and his wife with the help of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow."

Tass asserted that Professor Sakharov — in forced exile in Gorki, 250 miles (400 kilometers) from Moscow, for the last four years — was about to start a hunger strike while his wife, Yelena Bonner, would seek refuge in the U.S. Embassy. The aim would be to organize Mrs. Bonner's escape to the West under the "false pretext of health reasons" so that she could become "one of the leaders of the anti-Soviet outcasts who work for Western special services."

The step back into the Stalin years extends to vocabulary: "renegades in the pay of Western agents," "provocation by the CIA," "transmission of state secrets." Those terms were used in 1952 and have

now been dredged up once again, to be used May 4 in a Tass dispatch.

Some of the doctors involved in the fictional 1952 plot were rehabilitated posthumously. The Sakharovs themselves are in poor health. When the KGB decided to make the world aware of the new "plot," Mr. Sakharov had been on a hunger strike for 48 hours and Mrs. Bonner had been accused of anti-Soviet propaganda and assigned to forced residence in Gorki, where she apparently has also begun a protest fast.

The Stalinist style of the discovery of the "Sakharov-CIA plot" is another sign of the growing role of the KGB in the Soviet leadership.

Not long ago Viktor Chebrikov, the present head of the KGB, was one among several vice presidents of the KGB and a candidate member of the Central Committee. In February 1982 he was named one of the two first vice presidents, and in December he became head man. In November 1983 he was promoted to the rank of general of the army, and in December he became a candidate member of the Politburo. His designation as a full member of the Politburo is presumably not far off. Last

month Mr. Chebrikov was promoted to marshal. The last KGB marshal before him was Lavrenti Beria — the man who invented the "doctors' plot," only to be liquidated by his peers after Stalin's death.

The late Yuri Andropov rose to supreme power in the Kremlin after 15 years as head of the KGB. Konstantin Chernenko began his career in a KGB-linked organization, the Frontier Guards. There are strong indications that he played a role in the political police that terrorized the Ukraine in the 1930s.

Former KGB generals in the present Politburo include Gidar Alifiev, the first deputy prime minister, and Eduard Shevardnadze, the boss of Georgia. General Vitaly Fedorchuk, a former head of the KGB, where he succeeded Mr. Andropov, is now minister of the interior.

Clearly, the KGB has moved to an old habit and decided to break all contacts between what remains of an almost totally destroyed dissidence and Western journalists and diplomats. The Sakharovs are not the only victims. Roy Medvedev, who calls himself the "only dissident known in the West who still lives in Moscow," is no longer allowed foreign visitors.

International Herald Tribune.

## Retrospect On an Upset: Nov. 7, 1984

By William Safire

WASHINGTON, Nov. 7, 1984 — Yesterday's stunning upset of Ronald Reagan by President-elect Mondale has left pollsters and pundits staggering and stammering.

What caused the unprecedented "sectional split" in which the Reagan-Bush ticket carried most of the South and West, and Mondale-Bumpers swept the East and Midwest? Why are we now scrambling to guess the Mondale cabinet? I suppose we should have divined back in May the factors that seem so plain on the morning after Election Day.

1. The Bumpers decision. That put Humpty Dumpty together again. Mr. Mondale realized that Mr. Hart had made himself anathema to labor, and that a Mondale-Hart ticket could easily be attacked as hypocritical. How to attract the traditional liberals without alienating the South or the AFL-CIO? Answer: an attractive, little-known liberal Senator Dale Bumpers of Arkansas.

2. The gender-gap ambush. Never in presidential history have we seen such a difference in the voting behavior of men and women. Conservative women deserted Mr. Reagan in droves — partly because of disagreement over abortion and ERA, mainly because of fear of war and the conviction that Mr. Reagan had misunderstood working women's needs.

3. That minor stumble. Some say it was only the nosebleed, others point to the bad cold, but the age-and-health issue was suddenly injected into the campaign.

4. The absence of an escape hatch. In 1980, Democrats who disdained Jimmy Carter but distrusted Mr. Reagan had a way of demonstrating their independence by voting for John Anderson. This year, that crowd went, two out of three, for Mondale-Bumpers (mainly for Mr. Bumpers).

5. Wall Street's black September. The steady uptick of the interest rate clock combined with a sudden surge of inflation; that left the administration unable to pass the buck to the Fed's tight-money policy. Aggravated by the expectation of a Reagan victory and a new recession in 1985, investors started dumping, leading to what Treasury Secretary Donald Regan called a "brief period of profit-taking, building a base for another protracted advance," and what the economist Martin Feldstein called simply "the crash."

6. The struggle in the blue-collar factories. Mr. Reagan had to keep two-thirds of the blue-collar workers who voted against Mr. Carter in 1980. Labor delivered for Mr. Mondale in Ohio and Pennsylvania, and Mr. Reagan was limited to 30 percent of the blue-collar vote.

7. The normalization of the Jewish voter. In 1980, many supporters of Israel, normally Democratic, sensed incipient betrayal from a second-term Carter and turned to Mr. Reagan. But he delivered three years of Begin-hating before seeing the light, and the rumors that a second-term Regan secretary of state would be Cap Weinberger sent most of the Jewish swing vote to Mr. Mondale.

8. The underdog's victory in debate. In the three debates of 1984, Mr. Reagan did not do as well as widely expected. His opponent, always respectful, seemed to humiliate him: When Mr. Reagan twisted a fact, Mr. Mondale's "there you go again" was especially effective.

As usual, the conventional wisdom of last May did not hold up in several areas. The increased registration of blacks did not win the South for the Democrats because it was largely offset by backlash and the increased effectiveness of the pro-Reagan evangelists. The hostility of the Russians was turned into a Reagan advantage by his TV spots asking, "Why does the Kremlin want you to vote against President Reagan?"

It is all behind us now. If the White House had acted on these warnings in the spring, right-wing commentators would not now be forced to speculate about Mondale appointments.

But punditry, like the nation, goes on. So: Robert Strauss as chief of staff, Lane Kirkland at the State Department, Gary Hart at Defense, Jesse Jackson at Health and Human Services, Mario Cuomo as Attorney General, Bert Lance at the Fed.

The New York Times.

## LETTER

### After Dien Bien Phu

Regarding "Vietnam Marks 30 Years Since Dien Bien Phu" (May 7): William Tuohy's report ends: "Visitors spent the night in the guest hotel in Son La, and in the morning may tour the French prison that once held such Communist Party figures as Le Duan, now the Party leader, and Truong Chinh, his deputy. Squeezing inside one of the underground punishment cells, the visitor begins to understand the Viet Minh's hatred for French colonial rule."

I live in the 13th arrondissement of Paris, which is heavily populated by people who have fled Vietnam. It is extraordinary that these people who, according to Mr. Tuohy, hated the French so much, came to live with their tormentors and are still now trying to join us by the thousands. I have never heard of an exodus like that of the "boat people" taking place during French colonial rule.

If Mr. Tuohy had asked his hosts to allow him to visit their prisons and concentration camps he would have found these camps far more populated than they ever were during French colonial rule. The country is one large prison. If the Vietnamese could choose between French colonial rule and the current regime, there is no doubt in my mind as to what their choice would be.

CHARLES de MONTALEMBERT.

Paris.

## FROM OUR MAY 15 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO



## ARTS / LEISURE

## Designers Coming Up in New York Fashion World

**NEW YORK** — Call it, for want of a better word, the future. Behind Seventh Avenue's strongly structured facade, with its megabucks businesses, lies a turbulent world of young, unknown, unestablished and struggling-to-get-there designers who are just waiting for their chance.

The percentage of the total picture is not very large. At Blooming-

## HEBE DORSEY

dale's, for instance, Kal Ruttenstein, vice president for fashion, put it at "only 10 percent of the total mix."

The rest consists of 30 percent established American designers, 30 percent large American manufacturers — brand labels, 15 percent European designers and 15 percent for a fashion medley the store calls "Private Label" — which is "something we have designed especially for us," Ruttenstein said.

Like many other stores in New York, such as Henri Bendel, who first started it, Bloomingdale's has a policy of seeing every young designer who calls in. "It's very important," Ruttenstein said. "That's what feeds the future. After all, Perry Ellis was once part of that pack and so was Norma Kamali. But then, as they grew and got bigger, we move them in to the so-called Establishment corner. We

would like this stable of young, unknown designers to keep growing because they truly are the future."

How do stores discover talent? "Very often, we go to group shows. We also listen. For instance, three years ago, somebody told us to go to see Stephen Sprouse." This season, Sprouse has emerged as the new star of American avant-garde fashion.

"I went to his apartment," Ruttenstein added, "and he was doing silk dresses with something like lines on a television set. At that time, he did not have any production and he was not organized. But I could see that he had a great deal of talent. So all he needed was to get his production going. Which he did and in a short period of time, he's become known on both sides of the Atlantic."

Not all of them make it so fast. The following names are already looking promising on the New York fashion horizon.

**STEPHEN SPROUSE** — America's newest designer and a technologist, Sprouse is in his early 30s, tall and thin, pale-faced and has been known to wear black-rimmed eyes and a Dymel wig. He typifies New York street fashion with graffiti clothes exploding with fluorescent colors.

With only two collections, he has become a trend setter and won the covers of American Vogue and Women's Wear Daily. The quality

of his clothes is deceptively good, despite the wild delivery of his collection. His last one, inspired by the '60s and presented at the Ritz nightclub, was held in total darkness with flashing strobe lights, hard rock and "Clockwork Orange" make-up.

The colors have become his trademark but he is now moving into neutrals. With costs retailing at \$1,000 and reportedly selling well, this is not a cheap line.

**DANNY NOBLE** — British, he lives and works in Philadelphia and experts predict that he will soon come into his own. He designs basically classic but young and happy clothes, such as tartans in fluorescent fabrics. He too, has done only two small collections, but he is being watched carefully and may soon be snapped up by a big conglomerate. Sad, but as Ruttenstein pointed out: "It's a fact of life. Nowadays, designers need big money to expand."

**CATHERINE HIPPE** — Originally from California, in her late 30s, attractive, she has been around for many years. This season, she seems to be making it.

For a long time, she reflected the '40s, with big shoulders, big buttons and dressmaker trunks. In her latest collection, she went one step further and refined her look. She now delivers a very strong and modern image with Velcro closings instead of buttons.

At her last collection, where

models wore day-glo orange eye shadow and streaks of bright color in their hair, the very long coats and pant suits were the best moments.

**FRANZ HAIRS** — From Haarlem, the Netherlands, Hairs, 31, has lived in New York 10 years and was one of the finalists in the recent More magazine fashion awards. Although Gabrielle Knecht, who does pared down, architectural shapes, was the winner, some felt that Hairs's clothes looked better.

Hairs has been in the fashion race for three years and does all his own prints. This season, he based his collection on huge bold numbers painted black over sturdy white colors.

Selling to Macy's and Marshall Field as well as to Bloomingdale's, his clothes appeal to a young and urban clientele.

**WILLIE SMITH** — A black designer who has been on the fashion scene for many years but who has only made it big in the last two, he is very influenced by street fashion and has lately picked up the androgynous look.

He likes oversized clothes and has a strong following. He is also known to help other struggling artists. This season, he had street artists do T-shirts and put them in his collection in order to help them.

Smith is a substantial force in

American retailing because by manufacturing in India and the Orient, he designs young clothes that young people can afford. His lively style is thrift-shop chic but it is crisp and without flea market seediness.

His sister, Tookie Smith, is a well-known model in Paris who started in her brother's showroom. Lately, she has also tried her hand at shoe designing.

**ADRIENNE VITTADINI** — She had one of the best collections of knits this season. A good-looking woman, she showed clothes on equally good-looking models.

She has a terrific sense of proportions and designs for the tall and rangy American woman. Her last collection was slightly influenced by the Japanese New Wave but also included bright tartan knits.

## English National Opera Tour

United Press International

**LONDON** — The English National Opera goes to the United States May 20 with productions of Britten's "Gloriana" and "The Turn of the Screw." Prokofiev's "War and Peace," Verdi's "Rigoletto" and "Patience" by Gilbert and Sullivan. It will perform in Houston, San Antonio, Austin, New Orleans and New York.

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Outfit by Stephen Sprouse, photographed at the Museum of Modern Art in front of Claes Oldenburg's "Mouse."

## The 'Body and Soul' of Joe Jackson, the Tired Rock Star

By Michael Zwerin

**PARIS** — The rock star leaned forward awkwardly, shuffled and looked down, trying to attract the desk clerk's attention. Other guests arrived and finished their business before he managed to announce his. Pale and drawn, he took his room key like a gangly 29-year-old accountant attending his first stockholders meeting at a Holiday Inn.

Yet there is also something prematurely middle-aged about this bizarre star. Despite gold albums and major sold-out tour dates, Joe Jackson stoops as though whipped by a hostile wind. "I've come pretty much to the end of the road where rock is concerned," he said, with a tired sigh.

After this one-nighter in Paris, he would continue in North America. He was trying to beat jet-lag by going to sleep later and later: "I'm sick of this rock circus to the extent where I really don't care anymore whether people think I'm fashionable or not. [He is] This is my last tour. I just can't do it any more."

When shown a recent rave review of his latest album, "Body and Soul," currently 23d on the Billboard chart and rising, he said: "Oh I haven't read this." But first he read the adjoining review of a concert by a classical pianist and muttered (it's hard to imagine him exclaiming): "Alfred Brendel, he's tremendous. I heard him last year in New York."

Jackson chose to play the violin in Portsmouth, England, at the age of 13 because "I hated sports and the violin lessons in my school took place during the sports period." Pop didn't interest him, but on the other hand his love for the classics did not come from his parents. "It was all my own idea. I don't know where it came from."

Then he went through a long period of "thinking classical music wasn't relevant because it wasn't



Joe Jackson

happening right now." (He has recently come back to it, through Mahler.) Along with Elvis Costello, he became one of punk's more eloquent singer-songwriters. He made his first hit with subjects like success, virility, relationships, factory work, the press, radio, homosexuality and reggae.

On his 1981 album "Jumpin' Live," Jackson looked back to the '30s and '40s, recording such material as "Is You Is Or Is You Ain't My Baby," "Tuxedo Junction" and "Jumpin' With Symphony Sid." His main inspiration, as he wrote on the sleeve, was: "Louis Jordan, the king of the juke boxes, who influenced so many but is acknowledged by so few." This record, too, climbed the charts, despite his "daisy-bell" reaction, something like: "There goes Joe's career."

But at this point: "It's no longer important to me if something is contemporary or not. Fortunately, I think I'm just known as somebody

who makes interesting music. That's all I care about. But I certainly wouldn't call what I'm doing 'nostalgia.'"

"Body and Soul," however, is a nostalgia cocktail with an added shot of trivia. There are pop, Latin, rock, soul and bebop influences, but the cover design is the key. The red-screamed black and white photo of Jackson wearing a beret, holding a saxophone and a cigarette, is a tribute to the Blue Note line of jazz recordings that flourished in the 1950s, when owners Alfred Lion and Francis Wolff would haul into the studio whomever happened to be hanging out in front of Birdland at 4 A.M.

"I have a lot of those albums," he seemed so proud of it. "I love the look of them. Everybody's forgotten that look. There are 10 different types of faces and they cover had enough money for a color photo. I thought I'd try to restore it. And aside from the inside joke aspect, I thought it was a good idea to have liner notes. I miss liner notes. It's great to be able to read about who played what and what went on in the studio."

There seems to be an image problem here.

"You have to be honest on stage. People see through a pose. But if you come on honest a lot of people will see it as a pose anyway. We played a gig in L.A. and the place was filled with screaming morons. Some girl tried to undo my shoelaces. Stupid people. I was shouting at them to grow up. Next day the reviews said Joe Jackson thinks he's such a tough rocker. But it's important to me to be in front of a mass audience. I don't want to be a cult figure. I don't like the snobbery that goes with that. I don't want to think, 'God I'm so clever, most people can't understand what I'm doing because they're too stupid.'"

"I don't give autographs. It got ridiculous. I felt so dumb doing it. I finally said 'there's no law.' A lot of

people walk away cursing. It's weird. That's the sort of thing I want to get out of."

Although many reviews have flattered him as having made the transition from rock to pop, Jackson feels that "pop music is deliberately shallow. It's flashy, for entertainment only. Rock music has always had more passion to it, it's more from the heart, rebellious, anti-establishment. Not that I'm sticking up for it, because I think it's pretty dead and useless at this point. Rock has run out of steam."

Interviews are difficult for him. He was trying hard to be responsive. Though the shyness seems genuine, what comes across are awkward pauses mixed with grudging conversation. For example, he's got a vocal coach. What's he studying exactly? "Do you really think that is of interest to the average reader?" (He's studying head tones and breath control, learning how to narrow vowels so as to increase his range.)

His track, "Round Midnight," is part of a 5000-to-be-released A & M Records tribute to Thelonious Monk. (Other tracks are by Charlie Rouse, Donald Fagen, Steve Lacy and Peter Frampton.) "I never listened to Monk much. It wasn't so much me desperately wanting to pay tribute to Monk. They asked me to do an arrangement. I love arranging. I'd like to do more. It's so beautifully out of context."

What about the future? "I have loads of ideas but I don't really like to talk about the future. I could say a couple of things now that would sound really off the wall, but they would have to be justified by deeds. So I'd rather leave people guessing until they can actually hear it."

Joe Jackson, North American tour: Vancouver, May 14; San Francisco, May 18, 19; Los Angeles, May 22, 23, 24; Santa Barbara, May 25; San Diego, May 27; Phoenix, May 29; Denver, May 31; tour ends June 25 in Boston.

## The Renaissance of Italian Theater

By Thomas Quint Curtiss

**ROME** — The Italian theater is enjoying a renaissance — at least at the box office — having attracted a younger generation that, weary of movies and television, has acquired an appetite for "live" entertainment.

The demand surpasses the supply for in Italy, as in England, France, the United States and Ireland (where the annual Dublin theater festival has been canceled), there is an alarming shortage of playwrights just when they are needed to comment on the world we live in.

The general assumption is that potential dramatists are devoting their time to film scenarios and television, dubious prep schools for theater writing, which calls for transient dialogue and in-depth characterization rather than agitated action. There are authors who can compose for both stage and screen. One is Franco Brusati, who has delivered the best new play of the Italian season.

Brusati, a respected dramatist at home and on the continent, is internationally known for his films. His "Bread and Chocolate," an ironic social study of Italian immigrants seeking employment in Switzerland, was nominated for an Oscar, and his "Forget Venice," a drama of the attempted recapture of youthful illusions, won much acclaim. His latest screen try, "The Good Soldier," failed to match the early two in public response and its author-director turned to the stage again.

His new play, "La donna sul letto" (The Woman on the Bed), is impossible to pigeonhole. It is a bravura piece that fits into no specific category; "good theater" is the description that suits it best and in theater, hungry Italy is caught on at once.

It entices the imagination of the audience in its whimsical greasepaint romp. Its logic is that of an anxiety dream with lightning changes of situations and with characters transformed into other characters. Five players interpret 25 roles as it leaps astonishingly from one incident to the next in the manner of a smart, satirical revue. The novel entertainment is nubile, fresh and funny, an authentic "live" show. It is vacationing at the moment after a triumphant tour and resumes its Roman run in late summer.

A rumor runs that a new play of uncommon power and beauty is being withheld by its author whose personal sentiments — it was inspired by the death of a beloved relative — are opposed to publication and presentation. This is a revised version of Sophocles'

"Oedipus at Colonus" made by the brilliant journalist and critic Elsa Marante, whose novels "Arturo's Island" and "The House of Lians" have received high critical praise.

Massimo Bontempelli, a distinguished writer who died some years ago, is about to have his plays restored to the boards after long neglect. Due to his literary prominence he was elected to the Italian Academy during Mussolini's reign and this was held against him, though neither he nor his writings had any alliance with the Fascist regime. Two of his plays, "Nostra Dea" (Our Goddess) and "Minnie la canda" (Candid Minnie) are now being considered for revivals and his other works have been republished.

The most treasured practicing Italian playwright remains indisputably the Neapolitan actor-author Eduardo de Filippo, the author of countless dialect comedies about the lower-middle class of his native city and rural communities. He is now 84, but he is still theatrically active and has just staged a revival of his 1929 play, "Chi e piu felice di me" (Who's Happier Than I) which has been packing the Teatro Giulio Cesare nightly. His son Luca has replaced him in the leading role, that of a simpleton protected from discovering his wife's infidelity by his kind cronies. The younger de Filippo, tutored by his father in farcical technique, provides a perfect imitation of his papa.

In the absence of a sufficient number of new plays, familiar ones are crowding the Roman playhouses. Jean Anouilh's "Omifile," depicting a gifted poet who cynically switches to writing musical-comedy lyrics for higher pay, is at the Teatro Eliseo, while Strindberg's "Miss Julie" occupies the theater's studio. Patroni Griffi's "Meti una sera a cena" (Come One Evening to Supper) of a dozen seasons ago and since filmed is at the Teatro Valle, while the national classics are represented by Goldoni and Verga.

The Teatro Poldack, allegedly avant-garde, turned avant-guerre at the auditorium of Accademia Filarmonica Romana with an evening of selections from Brecht's "Threepenny Opera" (some of it sung in German) and a group of young novices. The Compagnia Teatro Incontro, directed by Franco Meroni, gave the age-old miracle play, "La Passione," in the Basilica di San Bartolomeo, on an island in the Tiber.

Farces from New York and London are often more amusing when Italianized. Two are on hand at the moment. Woody Allen's "Play It Again, Sam" at the Teatro delle Arti, and "Run For Your Wife," an English bedroom chase, adapted as "Taxi a due piazze" (Taxi for Two) at the Teatro Sissina.

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IBM	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4

Dow Jones Averages					
Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Change
Indus	1154.00	1154.00	1154.00	1154.00	0.00
Trans	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	0.00
Unif	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	0.00
Comp	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	0.00

NYSE Index					
Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Change
Composite	1154.00	1154.00	1154.00	1154.00	0.00
Indus	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	0.00
Trans	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	0.00
Unif	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	0.00
Comp	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	0.00

Monday's NYSE Closing					
Vol	4 p.m.	4:30 p.m.	4:15 p.m.	4:00 p.m.	3:45 p.m.
Vol	1,022,000	1,022,000	1,022,000	1,022,000	1,022,000
Vol	1,022,000	1,022,000	1,022,000	1,022,000	1,022,000
Vol	1,022,000	1,022,000	1,022,000	1,022,000	1,022,000
Vol	1,022,000	1,022,000	1,022,000	1,022,000	1,022,000

AMEX Diaries					
Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Change
Indus	1154.00	1154.00	1154.00	1154.00	0.00
Trans	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	0.00
Unif	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	0.00
Comp	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	0.00

NASDAQ Index					
Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Change
Indus	1154.00	1154.00	1154.00	1154.00	0.00
Trans	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	0.00
Unif	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	0.00
Comp	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	0.00

AMEX Most Actives					
Symbol	Vol	High	Low	Open	Close
AT&T	1,022,000	27 1/8	27 1/8	27 1/8	27 1/8
IBM	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4

NYSE Most Actives					
Symbol	Vol	High	Low	Open	Close
AT&T	1,022,000	27 1/8	27 1/8	27 1/8	27 1/8
IBM	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4

# NYSE Prices Drop in Slow Day

**United Press International**  
**NEW YORK** — Prices on the New York Stock Exchange, restrained by investor concerns that interest rates are going to go higher soon, lost ground Monday. But trading volume was the second slowest of the year — indicated Wall Street was not panicky.

The Dow Jones industrial average, down nearly 10 points at midsession after losing 10.05 Friday, shed 6.07 to 1,151.07. The closely watched Dow lost 8.17 overall last week.

Declines led advances 1,089,446 among the 1,991 issues traded.

Volume of 64.9 million shares, down from 82.8 million Friday, was the slowest since 64.1 million changed hands March 19, the slowest session of the year.

"The slow volume indicated to me that there was no panic," said Eugene Peroni of Bateman Eichler Hill Richard, Los Angeles. "Investors appeared to be looking for a good spot to move in."

Harry Laubscher of Paine Webber agreed, saying, "It looks like both stocks and bonds have gotten to such a low point that they could stage a big rally. All we need is a catalyst and I don't know what that could be."

Investors are restrained by worries that interest rates, up sharply the past month, are going to go even higher because of heavy borrowing needs. The government, faced with a \$180-billion deficit, is having to borrow heavily. And Wall Street is reluctant to buy its bonds.

Paul A. Volcker, the Federal Reserve chairman, said the economy appears to be growing

strongly despite high interest rates. Private borrowing has increased sharply in recent weeks because of the strong economy.

The Fed reported that consumer credit climbed \$5.87 billion in March, just a bit lower than the record \$6.61 billion in February. The government Friday reported a surge in April retail sales.

Congress has stalled in its efforts to cut the federal budget deficit and the Treasury's borrowing needs are running into conflict with those of the private sector.

Ensearch (ex-dividend) was the most active NYSE-listed issue, off 1/4 to 20 1/4. Public Service of Indiana followed, up 1/2 to 8 3/4 with a block of 864,900 shares trading at 8 3/4.

AT&T, which lost 1/4 the previous two sessions, was third on the list, off 1/4 to 15 3/4. The FCC last week ordered AT&T to cut long distance telephone rates by 6.1 percent, or \$1.7 billion.

IBM gained 1/4 to 112 1/4 in active trading. Analysts said IBM could turn the market around if it remains strong.

Texaco fell 1/4 to 39. Texaco has agreed to sell the 50 percent in Mitsubishi Oil Co., which it inherited when it bought Getty Oil earlier this year — to Japan's Mitsubishi group for \$335 million.

Japan-based Kyocera plunged 6 to 68 1/2. Matsushita Electric (ex-dividend) 2 1/2 to 76 1/2. Honda Motor 2 1/2 to 47 1/2 and Hitachi 1 1/2 to 37 1/2. The Tokyo stock market suffered the second worst loss in its history Monday.

NYSE Most Actives					
Symbol	Vol	High	Low	Open	Close
AT&T	1,022,000	27 1/8	27 1/8	27 1/8	27 1/8
IBM	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4

Dow Jones Averages					
Index	Open	High	Low	Close	Change
Indus	1154.00	1154.00	1154.00	1154.00	0.00
Trans	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	0.00
Unif	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	0.00
Comp	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	0.00



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NYSE Most Actives					
Symbol	Vol	High	Low	Open	Close
AT&T	1,022,000	27 1/8	27 1/8	27 1/8	27 1/8
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Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
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Comp	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	1022.00	0.00

AMEX Most Actives					
Symbol	Vol	High	Low	Open	Close
AT&T	1,022,000	27 1/8	27 1/8	27 1/8	27 1/8
IBM	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
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Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
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Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
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Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4
Amgen	1,022,000	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4	111 1/4

(Continued on Page 10)







## BUSINESS ROUNDUP

## Unilever Reports 19% Rise in Profit for Quarter

By Bob Hagerty  
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — Unilever reported Monday a 19-percent rise in pretax profit for the first quarter, despite a downturn in North America.

The British-Dutch maker of margarine, other foods and soap posted pretax profit of £186 million (\$259 million), up from the depressed year-earlier level of £157 million. Net profit increased 21 percent, to £91 million, on sales of £3.55 billion, up 11 percent.

The profit was moderately below last year's, and shares of Unilever PLC, the British arm, slipped 10 pence to close at 915 pence. Shares of Unilever NV, the

Dutch arm, closed at 262.50 guilders (\$84), up from 262 guilders Friday but down from the high early Monday of 264.90 guilders.

Unilever ascribed the decline in North American results to the costs of its nationwide U.S. introduction of Dimension shampoo. One analyst estimated the costs at \$25 million in the quarter. Analysts say U.S. results could continue to suffer in the short term as a result of further potential product introductions this year—including perhaps a fabric softener, a dish-washing liquid and a laundry detergent.

The company also said its U.S. margarine results were hurt by heavy competition, including government giveaways of surplus but-

ter, and sharply higher raw-material costs. But Unilever said most of its household products showed gains in North America.

In Europe, the economic upturn produced "significantly higher" results, particularly for consumer products, edible fats, frozen drinks and other foods and drinks, Unilever said. Detergent results, however, were down from year before.

The Third World, particularly Nigeria and Indonesia, continued to be a drag on earnings. The UAC International unit, which relies on trade with Africa, showed another decline in operation profit.

Results from South America,

Asia and Australia were considerably higher.

Earnings per share advanced to 24.5 pence from 20.19 pence a year earlier.

The latest figures were enhanced by the elimination of last year's extraordinary retrenchment costs. With those costs stripped out, Unilever's pretax profit showed an underlying gain of about 13 percent in the latest quarter, according to John Parker, an analyst at the London stockbrokerage of Fielding, Newson-Smith & Co.

For the full year, most London analysts forecast pretax profit of £840 million to £860 million, compared with £768 million in 1983.

## Utilities Vote On Plan to Save Seabrook

United Press International

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts — The 16 New England utilities that own the Seabrook nuclear plant were considering Monday a plan thought to be the last chance to save Seabrook's first reactor and its lead owner.

The meeting followed a new cost and completion estimate for Seabrook 1, the first of two reactors at the plant.

The new estimate, \$4.5 billion, could have a bearing on how the owners vote on the proposal to salvage Seabrook 1 and its principal owner, Public Service Co. of New Hampshire, the state's largest utility.

The plan the owners considered was viewed as the last hope for survival for Public Service Co., which owns more than 35 percent of Seabrook. Public Service has been close to bankruptcy for the past month.

The plan involves the creation of a new corporation, Newbrook, to complete the first reactor, \$75 million in short-term loans and another \$200 million from other investors in the summer to help Public Service avoid bankruptcy and revive the first reactor's construction, which was halted last month.

## Utility Cuts Dividend

United Illuminating Co. of New Haven, a 17.5-percent owner of Seabrook, said Friday that its board had cut its quarterly dividend to 50 cents from 80 cents to alleviate a cash-flow problem resulting from its participation in the project. The New York Times reported from New York. Public Service also recently cut its dividend.

## Fed Clears Acquisition Of BanCal Tri-State

WASHINGTON — The Federal Reserve Board said it approved the application of Mitsubishi Bank of Tokyo to acquire BanCal Tri-State Corp. The approval came on a close three-to-two vote. Chairman Paul A. Volcker was among the three board members who endorsed the acquisition.

But the vice chairman, Preston Martin, and Governor Emmett Rice voted against it, arguing that Mitsubishi's reported capital is below the level the board considers acceptable.

## Creusot Granted Court Protection

Reuters

PARIS — France's commercial court has granted Creusot-Loire's request for three months of court protection from creditors, a company spokeswoman said Monday.

The heavily indebted steel and heavy-engineering company, a subsidiary of France's Schneider SA, is now required to draw up a recovery plan within the three-month protection period.

The spokeswoman said the company intends to have the plan ready by June 13, but she declined to discuss what the plan might include. The plan is to be based on a program that already was being prepared when the concern asked for court protection on April 25.

## U.K. Clears Acquisition Of Comet By Woolworth

Reuters

LONDON — The British government has cleared the proposed acquisition of Comet Group PLC, discount electrical goods retailer, by Woolworth Holdings PLC and will not refer the bid to the Monopolies Commission, the Department of Trade and Industry said Monday.

The government has also cleared the proposal whereby Patagonia Holdings SA of Switzerland and Groupe Bruxelles Lambert SA can acquire as much as 29.9 percent of Comet. The bid by Suter PLC for Patagonia Holdings PLC, a maker of metal and plastic containers and metal arts.

## 16 U.S. Banks Are Providing Credit for Continental Illinois

United Press International

CHICAGO — Sixteen leading U.S. banks have put together a \$4.5-billion standby-credit facility for Continental Illinois National Bank to help it meet its funding requirements, David Taylor, the chairman of Continental, said Monday.

Rumors last week about Continental's financial soundness made it hard for it to obtain money through normal channels.

In a related development, Standard & Poor's Corp. lowered its ratings Monday on all debt obligations on Continental Illinois and its subsidiary bank, including its commercial paper and letters of credit. Continental, a subsidiary of Continental Illinois Corp., is the

eighth-largest U.S. bank. It has been buffeted in the past nine days by the rumors.

At Continental's request, Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. of New York will serve as the agent bank for the funding facility, Mr. Taylor said.

Participating banks include Manufacturers Hanover, Chemical Bank, Chase Manhattan, Bank of America, First National Bank of Chicago, Mellon Bank and Wells Fargo.

Others are First National Bank of Boston, Crocker National Bank, Texas Commerce Bank, Citibank, Irving Trust, Bankers Trust, Security Pacific and First Interstate Bank of California, the statement said.

## COMPANY NOTES

Firestone Tire & Rubber Corp. will raise its holding to 49 percent in its Spanish affiliate, Firestone Hispania, at this week's shareholders' meeting, a company spokesman said. The takeover cost is unofficially estimated at \$2.4 million. Firestone Hispania's remaining shares are held by five Spanish commercial banks.

Intermountain Gas Industries Inc. of Idaho said its board has concluded that Rocky Mountain Natural Gas Co.'s offer to acquire it is inadequate and not in the best interests of shareholders. Intermountain said that because of operating strength and outlook, the board raised the quarterly dividend

to 40 cents a share from 38 cents, payable July 26 to stock of record July 6.

Sumitomo Bank Ltd. and Lloyds Bank International Ltd. have joined Portuguese concerns, including banks and private investors, to set up a commercial bank in Portugal named Companhia de Investimentos e Servicos Financios S.A.R.L., with a capital of 300 million escudos (\$2.14 million). Sumitomo and Lloyds own 10 percent each.

Tealish Corp. is to build a plant to make microwave ovens in Plymouth, southwest England, at a cost of £3.6 million (\$4.99 million) to start production in April 1985 for sales in Britain and other European countries.

## Trilogy Puts Off Shipments of Computer Again

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Trilogy Ltd., the troubled developer of a new technology for mainframe computers, has told the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission that it would not ship its first computer until 1987, the third delay announced in recent months.

The company also said in its filing Friday that it would spend its \$700 million in working capital by the end of the third quarter of 1985 and expects that "significant additional financing will be required" to complete its project.

Analysts said the announcements had increased doubts about whether the Trilogy venture—whose investors include Digital Equipment, Sperry, CII Honeywell Bull and Control Data—would ever come to fruition.

The company said it was "re-evaluating its business strategy and analyzing product alternatives" and was considering acquiring all of the outstanding partnership assets for stock.

The company's computer is based on an innovative "wafer-scale integration" technology that involves large semiconductor chips capable of far higher capacity than conventional microchips. But early this year the company said development problems would delay the first shipment until 1985. Two months ago it put the delivery date at mid-1986, and Friday's statement put it off at least another six months.

## Experts Are Divided on the Value of Dividends

(Continued from Page 9)

gers' confidence—or lack of it—in their companies.

A third group, led by Professor Miller, maintains that dividend policies usually do not matter—and sometimes can penalize shareholders. For the average investor, Professor Miller said, bleeding out more cash in the form of dividends does not make shareholders richer, and people in high tax brackets, he added, are better off with a dollar of capital gains than with a dollar of dividends.

"Paying out funds as dividends may bring you applause for your generosity at the annual meeting from some of the odd-lot holders who have nothing better to do than at a box lunch at your expense," Professor Miller said. "But it can be a considerable imposition on your upper-tax-bracket stockholders."

Nevertheless, investors relish dividends, and for good reason. Gordon L. Croft, manager of T. Rowe Price's Growth and Income Fund, reports that investors who bought a diversified portfolio of stocks in 1972 and held them to the end of 1982 would have received the majority of the return in dividends.

Despite the drawbacks to dividends, specialists agree that groups of investors such as wealthy individuals whose income is mostly sheltered, and non-tax-paying organizations are mostly likely to prefer high-dividend stocks.

In buying these issues, analysts offer a number of tips. Mr. Childs, for example, favors the purchase of stocks whose dividends increase at a constant percentage each year. He also advises investors not to give too much weight to one-time dividends. Mr. Croft says dividends should generally come out of operating earnings. Finally, it is widely agreed that dividends in the

form of stock do little for shareholders. They only increase the amount of paper outstanding on an unchanged company.

For investors, another appeal of dividends is that in addition to providing certain current income, they indicate much about a company's health. Unlike reported profits, which do not necessarily translate into a strong, positive cash flow, dividends are by definition cash payments from a company's pool of retained capital. Provided, therefore, that the dividend does not come from a one-shot event such as sale of an asset, experts say, dividend payments provide the most compelling evidence of a company's basic profitability.

It follows that when a company changes its dividend, it is sending a message to investors. A dividend increase signals that earnings are expected to rise.

But not all dividend cuts are bad news. Gould Inc., for example, decided in the early 1980s to shift from its core, low-tech business of battery-making to high tech. Realizing that such a transformation

would require high capital spending, Gould cut its annual dividend last year by more than half—to 68 cents from \$1.72. But Gould's stock price did not suffer because investors apparently realized the company was beginning a new strategy.

Similarly, when ITT Corp. failed to raise its dividend last year, opting instead to put profits into new communications equipment, ITT's stock price rose. "The company said it had better places to put its money than in a dividend," said Mr. Croft of T. Rowe Price. "Investors respected that."

It is, in fact, partly a result of such actions that an intellectual battle still rages about whether dividends are truly in investors' best interests.

Professor Miller, for example, contends that if a company is not changing its borrowing or investing policies, the only way it can finance a larger dividend is by issuing more stock. In other words, he says, any benefit stockholders derive from an additional dividend is offset by a loss of control.

Professor Litzenger argues that as investors pay higher taxes on dividend income than on long-term capital gains, high-dividend stocks must sell at a lower price, and pay higher pretax returns, than low payers. If this is so investors of all types might see their stock prices rise if dividends were pruned.

A wholesale reduction of dividends, however, seems unlikely, particularly if interest rates continue to rise. In that case one way companies could continue to lure investors to the stock market would be by increasing dividends.

Nevertheless, even staunch supporters of high payouts, such as Mr. Childs, say dividends should be used less to convey a company's current position and more to convey its earning power over the long haul. "I tell managers that they should be stingy with their dividends when earnings are high and generous with dividends when earnings fall," Mr. Childs said. "The key is to have a sustainable dividend which matches a company's long-term earning power."

## U.S. Inventories Rose 0.9% in March

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — U.S. inventories rose in March for the ninth consecutive month, climbing \$4.63 billion, or 0.9 percent, to a record value of \$331.85 billion, the Commerce Department reported Monday.

The March gain followed a 1.8-percent increase in February, which had been the largest one-month gain since October 1974.

Despite a sharp decline in sales for retailers, total U.S. sales for manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers combined rose 0.5 percent in

March, the 11th increase in sales in 12 months, the department's Census Bureau said.

Sales were valued at \$400.7 billion by the end of March, 15.1 percent ahead of a year earlier. Manufacturing sales were up 1.7 percent and sales at wholesale climbed 0.8 percent in March, the bureau said. Retail sales dropped 2 percent for the month but later figures for April showed a healthy rebound, the report said.

## U.S. Consumer Debt Up

The Federal Reserve Board said Monday that consumer installment

debt expanded in the United States in March a seasonally adjusted \$5.87 billion, down from February's record \$6.61-billion rise, Reuters reported from Washington.

The March increase represents a 17.6-percent annual rate of growth in installment debt, an increase from 20.2 percent in February.

The growth in credit to finance auto purchases slowed sharply, rising only \$326 million in March after increasing \$2.8 billion in February. The Fed attributed the deceleration to a falloff in new car sales.

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